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## Diplomová práce

Anna Kudrnová

Rhematic subjects in written English: regular preverbal position  
vs. focusing by it-cleft

Rématický podmět v psané angličtině v pravidelném  
preverbálním postavení vs. vytčení vytýkací konstrukcí

*I would like to thank my supervisor, prof. Dušková, for her patience and kind encouragement.*

*Prohlašuji, že jsem diplomovou práci vypracovala samostatně, že jsem řádně citovala všechny použité prameny a literaturu a že práce nebyla využita v rámci jiného vysokoškolského studia či k získání jiného nebo stejného titulu.*

*V Praze dne*

*podpis*

*Souhlasím se zapůjčením diplomové práce ke studijním účelům. I have no objections to the MA thesis being borrowed and used for study purposes.*

## Abstract

The thesis aims to describe and compare the use of two English syntactic structures: sentences with a rhematic subject in the preverbal position and it-clefts with focused subject. It does so from the viewpoint of functional sentence perspective as conceived and elaborated by the members of the Prague Linguistic School and their Brno School followers. The main goal of the thesis is to determine whether the constructions are mutually exclusive or whether they can be under certain circumstances interchangeable.

For the purposes of the analysis, 200 example sentences were collected from contemporary fiction, i.e. 100 for each construction. Subsequently, their relevant features were examined, especially those concerning dynamic semantic scales and realization form of the subjects; these aspects were expected to differ. The analysis has shown that each of the constructions has rather specific uses and they overlap only rarely, in sentences in which the two basic dynamic semantic scales, the Presentation Scale and the Quality Scale, intersect.

keywords: English syntax, functional sentence perspective, cleft construction, subject

## Abstrakt

Tato diplomová práce si klade za cíl popsat a porovnat dvě syntaktické struktury v angličtině – větu s rématickým podmětem v preverbální pozici a vytýkáci konstrukci (tzv. it-cleft) s vytčeným podmětem. Činí tak z pohledu aktuálního členění větného, teorie, kterou formulovali a dále rozvíjeli členové Pražské lingvistické školy a jejich brněňští nástupci. Hlavním cílem práce je určit, zda jsou konstrukce navzájem disjunktní nebo jsou v určitých podmínkách zaměnitelné.

Pro účely analýzy bylo extrahováno 200 příkladových vět ze současné anglicky psané prózy, tedy 100 příkladů pro každou konstrukci. Následně byly zkoumány některé jejich relevantní rysy, zvláště pak ty vztahující se k dynamickým sémantickým škálám a realizační formě podmětu, u kterých se daly předpokládat odlišnosti. Analýza ukázala, že každá z konstrukcí má své specifické použití a obě se překrývají jen v řídkých případech ve větách, kde se stýkají obě dynamické sémantické škály, prezentační a kvalifikační.

klíčová slova: syntax angličtiny, aktuální členění větné, vytýkáci konstrukce, podmět

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## List of abbreviations

NP	noun phrase
Ph	Phenomenon
Pr	Presentation
Pr-Scale	Presentation scale
Q-Scale	Quality Scale
Rh	Rheme
Th	Theme
Tr	Transition
Sp	Specification

## Abbreviations of sources

Be	Be Near Me
Gr	The Ground Beneath Her Feet
Har	Haroun and the Sea of Stories
Pi	Life of Pi
Sen	The Sense of an Ending

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1. Aims of the thesis

This diploma thesis aims to explore the forms and functions of two English constructions, namely the it-cleft with a focused subject (a type of a cleft sentence) and the sentence following the regular English word order (subject - verb - object) with a subject that is rhematic. This will be done from the viewpoint and within the framework of functional sentence perspective (FSP) as conceived by Vilém Mathesius and further developed especially by the Brno School of Functional Perspective. What in most cases have these two constructions in common from the FSP point of view is their focus on the subject – in the it-cleft, it is fronted by the it-clause, while the rhematicity of the preverbal subject is determined by several means, such as the semantic properties of the verb and the lack of an element with a higher degree of communicative dynamism. Despite this similarity, the two constructions are only rarely exchangeable, because of their respective underlying structures, which basically differ.

In the thesis I analyze 100 examples of each construction and endeavour to determine in which cases they are interchangeable and which factors, on the other hand, prevent this interchangeability. Since functional sentence perspective is a fairly complex system of different factors whose interplay is often rather complicated, there will inevitably be ambiguities. In addition, it should be noted that the research in certain fields of FSP (for instance concerning dynamic semantic scales) is still in rapid progress and there are relatively numerous articles and studies being published recently, especially by the members of the Brno School. Therefore some of the theories used are still changing because new concepts are needed to explain problems that continuously emerge. In concrete terms, this is the case of the Extended Presentation Scale, a very recent subtype of the widely accepted Presentation Scale. This might present a certain disadvantage, as these new concepts are still being examined and it is possible that they could be re-evaluated.

Concerning the analysis, it should be remarked that the focus will be placed on subjects, i.e. rhemes or components of rhemes. Consequently, other items will be more or less left out of account, depending on their connection to the rheme and their importance for the interpretation of the structure. Considerable attention will be paid to verbs and their properties, because it is the transition that usually decides where the communication is perspectivized to. In this respect the (static) semantics is particularly important; for example, a



verb that displays a semantic affinity to the subject directs the communication towards the subject (when there is no successful competitor).

As to the outcomes, a small corpus of 100 examples for each structure is obviously too small to have general applicability. In addition, all the examples are taken from fiction; therefore, any results and conclusions that will arise may not be valid for other text types. Furthermore, the use of these constructions is, as well as the use of other language phenomena, a matter of an author's personal style (although the principles of FSP are fairly universal). It is beyond the scope of the thesis to consider the factor of individual style in the analysis, however interesting it would be; that being one of the reasons why the results of the analysis are to be qualitative rather than quantitative.

## **1.2. Structure of the thesis**

First, I briefly present the theoretical background of the subject matter, including the history and development of the concept of functional sentence perspective. Special attention is paid to the Prague Linguistic School, which played a crucial role in the research in FSP, and to the Brno School, which is today's centre of FSP studies in the Czech Republic. In this section I intended to describe the basic terms and concepts as they developed and define some of them for the purposes of my analysis, since there is clearly still space for further research, theories and concepts. This concerns above all dynamic semantic roles and dynamic semantic scales. This part contains, beside examples from other authors, sentences taken from my corpus used as examples.

Next, the methodology of the analysis is discussed. An important part of this section is one describing problematic issues in the analysis and sources of ambiguity.

The practical part consists of two sub-chapters, each dedicated to one of the constructions, i.e. preverbal rhematic subjects and it-clefts with focused subject. All example sentences are analyzed with the goal of determining the typical features of each construction and possibly finding the area where they overlap.

The next section features results that arise from the analysis and compares the use of the constructions. The outcomes are commented on in the wider context and compared to the initial expectations.

## 2. Theoretical Background

### 2.1. Used frameworks and theories

First studies concerning what is today called functional sentence perspective began to appear since 1840's, the most influential of them being Henri Weil's *De l'ordre des mots dans les langues anciennes comparées aux langues modernes*. In the monograph, Weil shows the correspondence of mental processes to the syntactic structure of a sentence. (Firbas 1974: 12)

It was the founder of the Prague School and one of its most significant representatives, Vilém Mathesius, who initiated the study of FSP in the Czech Republic. He followed the course set by Weil and concentrated especially on exploring the role of word order in relation to FSP. He also defined the two basic concepts, nowadays usually referred to as theme and rheme, in his terms the basis of the utterance and the nucleus of the utterance, respectively (Mathesius 1975: 81). He preferred these terms to the previously used "psychological subject" and "psychological predicate" which he felt connoted psychology rather than linguistics (Firbas 1974: 11). Mathesius compared the English and Czech means to achieve the desired information structure of the sentence and described the conflict between grammatical word order and functional sentence perspective (Mathesius 1975: 85). His remarks triggered further research in the field and became the basis of the FSP framework.

Mathesius's findings were developed by other members of the Prague School, of the Czech bohemists perhaps most importantly by František Daneš, who contributed to the study with his theory of three levels of syntax (Daneš 1964) and with his research on FSP in text, including thematic progression. Daneš also elaborates on the basic terms and dichotomies, such as given vs. new elements, theme vs. rheme, and communicative dynamism (Daneš 1974: 106-111).

Jan Firbas, the author of the seminal monograph *Functional Sentence Perspective in Written and Spoken Communication* and a large number of FSP-related articles, was one of the most influential researchers in FSP; first, in his earlier research, he developed the concept of communicative dynamism (CD). Firbas defines it as "the relative extent to which a linguistic element contributes towards the further development of the communication." (Firbas 1992: 7-8) Communicative dynamism is, without a doubt, a very helpful tool to judge an element's position in the sentence; it is more precise than the simpler division of known and unknown information that was used by Mathesius – as will be shown, context independent or unknown element in the sentence does not necessarily carry the highest degree of CD and vice versa;

this was pointed out for example by Daneš and other scholars (Daneš 1974: 107) and allows us to comprehend the sentence as a scale, rather than a strict dichotomy of known and new items or theme and rheme.

Firbas describes the general tendency (which may be stronger or weaker according to the nature of the language) of communicative dynamism to increase from the beginning to the end of the sentence (similar to the earlier conception of sentence structure corresponding to the movement of the mind). Nevertheless, he stresses the interplay of FSP means; other factors can prevail and even initial elements can become rhemes, which is the case of one of the constructions discussed in this thesis, the sentence with a preverbal rhematic subject. Similarly, some context-dependent items have low CD regardless of their position in the sentence (the typical example is Setting, which is always thematic although it often assumes the final position).

In his paper on the Czechoslovak FSP studies Firbas claims that the importance of FSP is greater than it was perhaps previously thought: according to the article, it is FSP (or more precisely CD) that constitutes the basis for generating a grammatical structure that becomes a sentence, not vice versa. That, however, does not exclude the possibility of grammar being decisive for word order, if there are other means (as is usually the case) of signalling the distribution of CD (Firbas 1974: 36). This applies to one of the construction treated in the thesis, the preverbal rhematic subject, in which the FSP tendency of linearity is violated but the rheme is nevertheless sufficiently signalized.

Another useful concept used by Firbas is that of instance levels, which express the amount of context-dependence in the structure. First instance includes basic and ordinary instances. On the basic instance level, none of the elements is retrievable from the immediately relevant context, meaning that the FSP factor of immediately relevant context is absent. Ordinary instance level is the most frequent; on this level, some items are context-dependent and others are not, therefore the resultant information structure is constituted by the interplay of all the factors. On the second instance level, all elements are context dependent and one of them is singled out to become rheme proper. Linear modification and semantics then lose most of their influence (Firbas 1992: 112-113).

Although today's Prague School is no longer a centre of FSP-related research, Libuše Dušková has written a number of influential papers on various topics concerning FSP, often in

connection with syntactic or other phenomena, such as the it-cleft, definiteness (both in Dušková 1999), potentiality (Dušková 2010), semantics (Dušková 2008) etc. Especially the papers on syntactic and FSP potentiality and cleft constructions are useful for the analysis.

Another outstanding scholar, Aleš Svoboda, contributed to the theory of FSP with his concept of diatheme, the most dynamic element in the thematic part of a syntactic unit. Svoboda also elaborated on some of Firbasian concepts, e.g. dynamic semantic scales and communicative dynamism. For instance, his article “On Two Communicative Dynamisms” (Svoboda 1974) is well worth mentioning in relation to my analysis; in the treatise, Svoboda explores the possibilities of objective measuring of communicative dynamism. An important issue that he brings to attention is his understanding of CD, in which it has two aspects: the general meaning of elements in language and the additional meaning that a user adds to it according to the communicative intention. In this way, some language elements can be made more prominent or informative, while the information value of others may be decreased (Svoboda 1974: 39). This statement emphasizes the importance of what some scholars call “dual semantics” (Dušková 2008: 67). Adam notes, “Not only does such a perspective describe language in its complexity, but it also seems to be vital for a thorough semantic analysis of a text, notably in the area of the verb.” (Adam 2011: 6)

Semantic properties of language elements are also vital for Firbas’s followers from Brno, who concentrate on the problem of dynamic semantic scales and their classification. This will be discussed in more detail in the respective section; it is only worth mentioning at this stage that most attention is paid to Presentation Scale sentences; either to the way they are constructed (which concerns mainly the semantic relation between the subject and the verb) or its sub-types (the Extended Presentation Scale and a Pr-Scale with a complex Presentation with a specifying element, named special Pr-Scale in the analysis).

## **2.2. General description of the constructions**

First, it is necessary to remind ourselves that in both constructions that will be described it is the subject that constitutes the rheme. (Although even this statement is slightly problematic in the case of it-clefts, which can display a more complex information structure. Nevertheless, when we limit the claim to the scope of a clause, it is correct; the original subject and resultant subject complement in the it-clause becomes the rheme of this clause, if not the whole

sentence). Since English is a language with largely fixed word order and with the basic syntactic pattern of SVO (subject – verb – object), and the general tendency in FSP being that the most dynamic part of the sentence occurs finally, it is evident that an English rhematic subject requires special conditions and means. First of all, it must be mentioned that despite the above said tendency, English, because of its word order, does not use linearity as a means of FSP to such an extent as for example Czech does. Therefore, in all sentences with a preverbal rhematic subject, the principle of linearity is violated and overridden by other factors, especially the influence of context and semantics. Still, this construction, barring exceptions, is perceived as natural and unmarked (Adam 2011b: 21), or only slightly marked (Dušková 1998: 42).

On the other hand, the other structure focuses the subject by means of re-arranging the sentence into two clauses, the result resembling a sentence with a relative clause. According to Quirk et al., the focus does not necessarily constitute the rheme; the sentence has “divided focus” and the information structure is decided by the context (Quirk et al. 1985: 18.26). As to its form, the superordinate clause features *it* as a subject, followed by the copula *be* and the focused subject of the original, underlying structure. The subordinate clause is connected to the superordinate one by the relative pronouns *that*, *who*, *which*, or zero relative (Dušková 1999: 319). It is therefore evident that the subject which is thus focused would not be interpreted as a rheme in the underlying construction (or only rarely, as will be demonstrated in the analysis). It follows that the original structure should somehow differ from a sentence with a preverbal rhematic subject. To understand exactly how we have to explore the theory of the dynamic semantic scales and FSP factors.

### 2.2.1. Dynamic semantic scales

Numerous studies in functional sentence perspective showed that two main structures can be distinguished as regards the communicative perspective of a sentence. These are most frequently referred to as the Presentation Scale and the Quality Scale. In the Presentation Scale, a Phenomenon is being presented on the scene, while in the Quality Scale, a certain Quality is ascribed to a Bearer of this quality. As Firbas (1992: 66) describes it, it is the verb that either directs the communication to the subject as an appearing phenomenon or towards itself and thus assumes the role of quality attributed to the subject. Alternatively, the Q-Scale can also be perspectivised further, to a Specification of the Quality, i. e. complement(s) of the

verb. The basic scheme of the dynamic roles participating in the Pr-Scale and the Q-Scale, respectively, are:

Set(ting), Pr(esentation of Phenomenon), Ph(enomenon presented)

Set(ting), B(earer of Quality), Q(uality), Sp(ecification), F(urther) Sp(ecification). (Firbas 1992: 66)

Dynamic semantic scales are crucial for the analysis of the constructions that are discussed in this thesis, as the two structures tend to gravitate each to a different scale. Namely, the preverbal rhematic subject is one of the very typical realizations of the Presentation Scale. It-clefts with focused subject, on the other hand, as will be shown in the analysis, can theoretically employ both scales, although they are mostly ascribed to the Quality Scale. This seems to be the fundamental difference that in most cases prevents the structures from being interchangeable.

Nevertheless, as FSP is a phenomenon of graded and complex nature, not all sentences can be neatly analysed as one of the scales. With further research, it became clear that another category is needed (or more, for that matter) to describe cases that do not fit well into either scale. First, Firbas devised the Combined Scale, a fusion of Presentation and Quality Scales, which displays the following structure:

Set - Pr - Ph - B - Q - Sp - FSp

He gives an example to illustrate the point:

(1) *Ages ago (Set) a young king (B) ruled (Q) his country (Sp) capriciously and despotically(FSp).*

This sentence could be paraphrased as *Ages ago there was a young king, who ruled his country capriciously and despotically*. While the first clause obviously employs a Pr-Scale, in the second one the relative pronoun plays the role of a bearer of quality and the clause can be interpreted as a Q-scale. (Firbas 1992: 67)

Firbas's followers from the Brno School, namely Chamonikolasová and Adam, pointed out that this category can be subdivided into the Combined Quality Scale and the Combined Presentation Scale or Extended Presentation Scale, contrasting the example above with a slightly different sentence:

(2) *In those days came John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness of Judaea...*

The authors of the paper point to the fact that the only aspect in which (1) deviates from the Q-Scale is the context-independence of the subject. On the other hand, the only extra element in (2) is the participle, i.e. a Specification, and thus it is more similar to the Pr-Scale. They consequently refer to the former as the Combined Quality Scale (and classify it as a Q-Scale) and to the latter as Extended Pr-Scale. (Chamonikolasová and Adam 2005: 61-62).

The distinctive feature of the Extended Presentation Scale is therefore the presence of a Specification, an element with the highest degree of communicative dynamism and which in some way specifies the Presentation and the Phenomenon.

Since the concept is relatively recent, it is not yet clearly agreed where its boundaries lie. For instance, let us take two examples from my sample sentences:

(3) *A group of boys came up holding pints.* (Be: 59)

(4) *Next to the kettle my mobile was bleeping to show a text had arrived.* (Be: 156)

There is no doubt that the clauses *A group of boys came up* and *my mobile was bleeping* embody the Presentation Scale - there is a context-independent subject followed by a verb of appearance (explicit and implicit) in both cases. What is, however, questionable, is the role of the Specification. One approach, represented by (Chamonikolasová and Adam 2005: 63-64) would be to consider both examples as the Extended Presentation Scale. Another view, however, is to see only the first example as the Extended Presentation Scale and the second as two clauses with separate semantic dynamic fields. This distinction may not seem very important or obvious, especially when the Specification is in both cases realized by non-finite constructions, but the problem becomes clearer when we consider other examples used by Chamonikolasová and Adam:

(5) *Jako první cílem projel brněnský cyklista Petr Novák, protože favorit závodu Jan Smutný z oddílu Cyklo Liberec těsně před cílem upadl na kluzké vozovce.*  
(Chamonikolasová and Adam 2005: 64)

It is the whole clause *protože favorit závodu Jan Smutný z oddílu Cyklo Liberec těsně před cílem upadl na kluzké vozovce* that constitutes the Specification. As well as that, however, it might be considered a separate field with its own FSP structure. Thus, it is evident that for the purposes of the analysis, a line has to be drawn between these approaches. Since the aim of the thesis is to compare the use of two different constructions, it is not supremely important to distinguish between the finer (and irrelevant) nuances of either of them. Therefore, in this thesis only

examples similar to (3), where the specification is closely connected to the verb, will be regarded as representative of the Extended Presentation Scale, and those resembling (4) (namely ones that include the infinitive in the semantic role of purpose) will be classified as Pr-Scales proper.

Chamonikolasová and Adam discovered another special kind of a Pr-Scale, in which the process of Presentation is specified and the Specification becomes the most dynamic element in the sentence (ibid. 64-66). This subtype, in the analysis classified as special Pr-Scale, can be illustrated by the following example from my corpus:

(6) *Meanwhile, in the courtyard of the buses, small dust-clouds were rushing back and forth like little desert whirlwinds.* (Har: 32)

Some further elaboration of the frequency and the possible realizations of the Presentation Scale is needed to see the construction with preverbal rhematic subject in a wider perspective.

First of all, it must be noted that the said construction is neither the only one nor (usually) the most frequent in embodying the Pr-Scale. Adam (2011: 10-14) distinguishes four subtypes that implement the Pr-Scale: existential construction, rhematic subject in preverbal position, fronted adverbial & S - V inversion and Locative Th-subject & Rh-object. The order in which Adam lists them corresponds to their respective frequency in his corpus; however, Adam notes that the frequency may differ in various text types, for instance in Biblical texts it is the rhematic subject in preverbal position that prevails over existential construction (ibid. 14).

According to Adam, the construction employing a rhematic preverbal subject is “undoubtedly the prototypical, “canonical” type connected with the Presentation Scale.” (ibid. 12) That is to say, this subtype exhibits the regular English word order, without employing other means that would indicate the property of Presentation (as opposed to the other subtypes; the existential construction uses the grammaticalized *there*, in the third subtype, the word order is inverted, etc.) It follows that since this construction acts against the linearity factor as explained above in Firbas’s book, there must be other factors that allow the hearer/reader to interpret the information structure correctly. These include context, semantics and, possibly, intonation (or what might be considered its counterpart in written communication: punctuation). Another feature that can be helpful in distinguishing a rhematic subject from a thematic one is definiteness (when marking context (in)dependence), which is of course closely connected to context, but it is important enough to be mentioned on its own. In the next paragraphs these individual factors will be described in more detail.



## 2.2.2. FSP factors

### 2.2.2.1. Linearity

The FSP factor of linearity is realized by the way sentence elements are arranged, i.e. by word order. This factor was in the beginning of Mathesius's FSP research considered to be the main governing principle, partly because Mathesius compared English and Czech and noticed a greater tendency in the latter language to conform word order to the needs of functional sentence perspective (Mathesius 1942: 187).

Firbas challenged this view in that he recognizes other FSP factors apart from word order (Firbas 1992: 120). He explains the principles that govern word order; the reason why English is less likely to follow the word order that would correspond to the distribution of CD is that its grammatical principle is stronger than in Czech. Although there is a prevalent tendency towards a thematic grammatical subject, which corresponds to the basic FSP scheme Th-Tr-Rh, the English sentence relatively often fails to conform to the FSP linearity principle (ibid.: 118-120), for instance in the case of rhematic preverbal subjects.

### 2.2.2.2. Context

As a rule, context-independent elements tend to have a higher degree of communicative dynamism as opposed to context-dependent ones. Therefore, if a subject is clearly context independent and the rest of the sentence is context-dependent, the subject can be identified as a rheme, even if the semantics of the verb does not indicate the process of presentation or it is not affiliated to the semantics of the subject (which is an important factor in Presentation Scales with only "sufficiently implicit verbs of appearance"). For instance:

- (7) *"I certainly don't," Haroun retorted. "And anyway, even if you do turn off your Story Water, my father will still be able to tell stories. "Anybody can tell stories," Iff replied.* (58)

in this example, the verbal phrase *tell stories* appears in the preceding sentence, therefore it is context-dependent. Anybody, although it is not a typical candidate for a preverbal rhematic subject (this will be discussed in the practical part – while some realization forms are typical for the construction, pronouns are certainly not), the context itself can render it rhematic. It is a further question whether such sentences can be considered as representative of the Presentation Scale; this problem will be addressed in the methodology section and so will be the graded nature of context-dependence.

Generally, the contextual factor plays an important role; According to Adam and Headlandová Kalischová, it is the most influential of all FSP factors (Adam and Headlandová Kalischová 2012: 30). In the analysis, this fact is proven by the realization forms of subjects in Pr-Scales, which are, in the vast majority of cases, visibly context-independent.

Although the nominal category of definiteness is not usually listed as one of the main factors of FSP (since it primarily signals the context in/dependence of an element and therefore is treated as an instrument of context), it is worth noticing individually. The reason for this is that articles have other functions than mere indication of whether an item has already appeared in the text or not.

Definiteness, however, influences communicative dynamism even when it performs a different role than signalling context in/dependence. Generally, the indefinite, non-generic article tends to indicate context-independent, novel item. Nevertheless, such item does not automatically become a rheme. On the contrary, the definite article signals a determined element, but not necessarily a context-dependent one. It has a predisposition to signal thematic elements (Dušková 1999: 289), it can however be a part of a rheme.

For example, Dušková (ibid. 291) points out that cataphoric definite article does not affect the FSP function of an item, as can be illustrated by this sentence:

(8) *The faces of small children appeared; they had different haircuts, the children, but the same eyes, and their voices rose in anticipation of a challenge and an opportunity.* (Be: 55)

Nevertheless, even such use of the article does in a way influence communicative dynamism. (however insignificantly – the structure in (8) will still undoubtedly be interpreted as Pr-Scale) in the sense that an indefinite article would raise CD and therefore make the subject even better candidate for the dynamic role of the rheme. In the case of (8), such small differences in CD might seem unimportant, but in the grey area where a sentence becomes ambiguous or unclear, the role of the article (or indeed its absence) can sometimes prove decisive.

### **2.2.2.3.Semantics**

Static semantics plays a considerable role in constituting a rhematic subject, especially in verbs. The prototypical examples of Pr-Scale are those that have a context-independent subject followed by an explicit verb of appearance; there may be temporal or spatial setting, but not necessarily. Such sentences are rather frequent in my corpus, e.g.

(9) "*A legend comes to town.*" (Har: 41)

(10) *Then I met Margaret; we married, and three years later Susie was born.*

(Sen: 54)

Verbs that, from a semantic point of view, help to make a subject rhematic, can be thus divided into two categories: explicit and sufficiently implicit verbs of appearance. The explicit verbs of appearance either express appearance or existence as such, or, as it is often the case, are realized by verbs of movement. In that case, the motion as such is less important than its result, i.e. that an agent appears in a certain location. Static semantics of the verb is crucial for implicit verbs of appearance, where semantic affinity with the subject is a decisive factor; this issue is dealt with in more detail in the Research part.

#### **2.2.2.4. Intonation**

Intonation, or prosodic prominence, joins the mentioned FSP factors in spoken communication. As Svoboda points out, intonation is constituted by the interplay of several phenomena, namely stress, pitch and rhythm. According to Svoboda, recent research has shown that highest prosodic prominence does not automatically signal the rheme and vice versa, the theme does not always display the lowest prominence. The reason for the discrepancy is that intonation has other functions than signalling FSP and when the other factors are sufficiently explicit, it can assume other roles (Svoboda 2005: 218-219). Prosodic prominence can also signal finer distinctions, for example raise an element's CD without marking it as a rheme (Adam and Headlandová Kalischová 2012: 30).

However, in the cases where the other factors fail to disambiguate the information structure, intonation is often decisive. Despite the fact that the present analysis is concerned with written language, the role of intonation still has to be taken into account. First, some of the analyzed it-clefts correspond to spoken sentences where the rheme is expressed by means of prosodic prominence (often in cooperation with one or more other factors).

Second, even written texts sometimes employ devices that are equivalent to intonation in spoken language. Klégr (2009: 58-59) states that even written language can express meaning similar to that of prosodic prominence, by means of typographic devices. He argues that punctuation should be included in the list of FSP factors as the "fifth element". Firbas acknowledges its function too; he mentions italics as a means of indicating second instance (Firbas 1992: 112)

The use of italics (here indicated by bold script) can be illustrated on the following example:

(11) "**Stories** *have warped the boy's brain*," he pronounced solemnly. (Har: 156)

I believe that such means are frequently used in dialogues, i.e. when it is evident that the text is, as it were, a transcription of spoken language. Sometimes there is no formal indication of prosodic prominence:

(12) *There is no one else to whom I can address these remarks. You are the man in charge.* (Be: 33)

The second sentence in (12) could in written communication correspond to a cleft construction: *It is you who is in charge*, even though the pronoun is not marked by any typographic means. However it is clear from the context that the only new piece of information is the identification of *you* and *in charge*. Since it-clefts are less frequent in speech than in writing<sup>1</sup>, the author might have chosen the more usual formulation for stylistic reasons, even if the intonation is absent, and rely on the reader's correct interpretation.

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<sup>1</sup> This does not mean that it is rare in speech. According to Quirk et al.: "while very common in spoken English, the construction is particularly convenient in writing, since it provides unerring guidance to the reader in silently assigning appropriate prosody." (Quirk et al. 1985: 1384)

### 3. Methodology

#### 3.1. Sources and material

The 200 sample sentences, 100 for each construction, were collected from several contemporary works of fiction, namely *Be Near Me* by Andrew O'Hagan, *Haroun and the Sea of Stories* by Salman Rushdie, *The Sense of an Ending* by Julian Barnes, *Life of Pi* by Yann Martel and *The Ground Beneath Her Feet* by Salman Rushdie. It became apparent that preverbal rhematic subject are, at least in this kind of texts, more common than it-clefts with focused subject, thus more books had to be used for the latter (*Life of Pi* was not needed for the former set of examples).

It should be noted that the analysis does not aim to explore the frequency of either construction in texts and neither does it attempt to compare the use of the constructions in different genres or authors. The examples were collected with the objective of observing general tendencies and the interplay of different FSP factors. Therefore it seemed more suitable to include more authors, in order to ensure sufficient variability in the example sentences.

Apart from the actual sentences containing the structures, in some cases I also included the immediate context which is decisive for the interpretation. This holds especially for the it-clefts, because their subjects are often context-dependent, unlike preverbal rhematic subjects.

For the sake of clarity, the relevant clauses/sentences are underlined, because some examples include rather lengthy context or multiple instances of the phenomenon in question.

#### 3.2. Methodology of the analysis

The collected examples were put in charts (both can be found in the Appendix) and sorted according to several criteria. For the preverbal rhematic subjects, these included: setting, semantics of the verb, verbal voice, verbal valency (specifically transitivity), dynamic semantic scale, and realization form of the subject. The analysis is performed within the distributional field of clauses, therefore sentences with more relevant clauses were divided into several examples. The following table shows the structure of the analysis and the typology used:

Table 1 – structure of the analysis of sentences with preverbal rhematic subjects

critereon		
setting	spatial	object
	temporal	object
	spatial and temporal	
	none	
semantic type of the verb	explicit appearance	appearance proper
		existence
		appearance - movement
	implicit appearance	manifestation of natural and supernatural phenomena
		inherent actions of fauna and flora
		facial/bodily expressions
		inherent qualities/actions of inanimate objects
		sensory actions and personified inanimate object
		sensory perception
		verba efficiendi
	other	copular identification
		other
verbal voice	active	
	passive	
verbal transitivity	transitive	
	intransitive	
	copula	
	reflexive	
dynamic semantic scale	Presentation	
	Extended Presentation	
	special Presentation	
	problematic	
	ambiguous	
realization form of the subject	noun phrase (NP)	homogenous
		heterogenous
	pronoun	personal
		indefinite
	proper name	
	nominal relative clause	

Most of the terms used in the table are explained in the theoretical part of the thesis or elaborated on in the analysis. A homogenous noun phrase is a noun phrase consisting of elements that display the same level of context-(in)dependence, e.g. all its parts are context-independent. On the other hand, heterogenous noun phrases combine context-dependent and independent items.

The it-cleft sentences were subjected to a similar procedure, but the criteria differed in some aspects, as follows:

**Table 2 – analysis of sentences with it-cleft with focused subject**

critereon			
context dependence of the subject	dependent		
	independent		
realization form of the subject	NP	homogenous	
		heterogenous	
	pronouns	interrogative	
		personal	with apposition
			with focalizer
			with reflexive pronoun
	proper name	with apposition	
type according to Prince	stressed focus		
	informative-presupposition		
textual role	contrast		
	identification		
	selection		
	marking known information		
	topic launching		
underlying structure	Q-scale		
	Pr-Scale		
	problematic		

The proportions are expressed in percentage; in the cases where all the examples of either construction are analyzed, the percentage corresponds to the number of instances.

### 3.3. Problems involved in the analysis

#### 3.3.1. Context dependence

Determining whether an element is context-dependent or not is an important part of the analysis, since this information serves several purposes, viz. it helps to identify thematic and rhematic items, to distinguish between the types of it-clefts, etc. Unfortunately, context dependence cannot be easily treated as a polar phenomenon; on the contrary, it appears to be of a scalar nature. Firbas (Firbas 1992: 23-24) states that on the basis of two studies into the issue, it is possible to set the retrievability span at approximately seven clauses. That is, it takes seven clauses for an element to become context-independent again, at which point it is perceived as a new piece of information. While my example sentences generally do not deviate from this tendency, there are still problems that have to be faced. The most common exception from the seven-clause rule in my corpus are characters in literary works; these do not seem to follow the rule and often appear after longer stretches of text, behaving like context-dependent items. One explanation for this might be that they function similarly to a hypertheme, i.e. a theme that is present throughout the text and thus need not be referred to in order to be context-dependent. Firbas (Firbas 1992: 31) also admits that “True enough, a piece of information may be retrievable or irretrievable from the part of context outside the immediately relevant contextual sphere, and hence dependent on or independent of this part of context.” This supports the “hypertheme” interpretation of the phenomenon. For example:

(13) It was Oneeta Sengupta who put her finger on the trouble. (Har: 23)

(14) It was Richard Parker who calmed me down. (Pi: 157)

In (13) the character of Oneeta Sengupta is not mentioned in the preceding context and (14) is chapter-initial. For the reasons stated above, such cases will be considered context-dependent, since the reader is evidently expected to recognize the characters.

The following example is problematic from the formal point of view, because there are 16 sentences inserted between an item and its reiteration:

(15) *His tone of voice set off a small alarm bell in my head. [16 sentences] It was no longer a small alarm bell that was ringing in my head – they were big bells now, like the ones we heard fom Sacred Heart of Jesus Church, not far from the zoo.* (Pi: 31)



Nevertheless, it does not seem that the second instance of the item in question, *a small alarm bell* is context-independent. Firbas (1992: 30) suggests that the length of retrievability span may be influenced by the nature of intervening clauses: “The shortness of the retrievability span is undoubtedly also due to the continuous influx of new, irretrievable information into the communication.” This might be the case of the last example; although the number of sentences is more than twice as high as it theoretically should be, they are generally short and do not introduce a lot of new information. For illustration, the intervening sentences in (15) include: “I quickly reviewed my conscience. It was clear. Ravi must be in trouble again. I wondered what he had done this time. [...]”, i.e. short structures that do not deviate from the topic of conscience, guilt etc.; hence the retrievability span can be longer. It is probable that in the opposite case (long intervening sentences with great amount of irretrievable information) the retrievability span shortens.

Firbas (1992: 37) mentions a theory that might also explain the phenomenon, although he does not use it himself - Chafe’s definition of givenness, which “is conditioned by the assumption of the speaker that the information is present in the addressee’s consciousness” as opposed to his more exact criterion of the element’s appearance in the immediately relevant context.

Chafe’s definition would be useful in examples that resemble (13) and (14), with the difference that the problematic item is not a character in a novel but another phenomenon that is not explicitly mentioned in the immediate context, yet it can still be believed to be present in the reader’s mind. For example:

(16) *My sleep pattern changed. Though I rested all the time, I rarely slept longer than an hour or so at a stretch, even at night. It was not the ceaseless motion of the sea that disturbed me, nor the wind; you get used to those the way you get used to lumps in a mattress.* (Pi. 193)

Considering that a significant part of the novel is set on the sea, it can be assumed that the reader does not perceive the noun phrase in question as new information.

These problems would certainly deserve more attention; it is however impossible to deal with them at length in this thesis. For the purposes of the analysis, the rule of seven sentences is generally observed except in the above described cases of literary characters. In disputable cases, such as (16), an exception to the rule is made if justified by some of the criteria described above.

In regard to the problem of context, Firbas (1992: 34-35) elaborates on the issue of context-dependence in relation to communicative dynamism. He explains that even context-dependent items can become rhematic if they are for some reason singled out of the context and assume a new function (technically speaking, they at least partly cease to be context-dependent). Firbas gives examples of selection and contrast and classifies these as “irretrievable information”. He illustrates it on the following example: *There are three hotels in that place, the Continental, the Grand and the International, but the one I like most is the Grand*, where the second instance of *Grand* carries a new, irretrievable meaning of selection (Firbas 1992: 34-35).

The factors that disengage an element from context-dependence are especially evident in it-clefts and will be discussed in the respective chapter. However, Firbas’s notions are useful in analysing the preverbal rhematic subjects as well, for example in the following sentence:

(17) *There is no one else to whom I can address these remarks. You are the man in charge.* (Be: 33)

If we leave aside the question of dynamic semantic scales and agree that *you* is the rheme (that is, if *in charge* is classified as context-dependent, in which case *you* displays the highest degree of CD) we immediately realize that *you* does not resemble a typical preverbal rhematic subject, because it is a personal pronoun, a rather atypical realization form for this kind of subject. What is even more unusual is that it is a 2nd personal pronoun; it is deictic and refers to a person who is inevitably present at the moment of the utterance. As such, it is inherently thematic. However, in the given context it acquires a new, irretrievable feature, due to selection (it could be paraphrased as “no one else, YOU are in charge” or more conveniently using an it-cleft: “It is you who is in charge”; the connection of it-clefts and textual roles is discussed in the analysis and conclusion).

Since a noun phrase is often composed of more elements and these sometimes differ in context-dependence, it may be problematic to determine what prevails, whether the dependent or the new information.

(18) *I became loyal to these sense impressions even before I knew what they meant or what they were for. It is my heart that commands me so.* (Pi: 46)

The noun phrase *my heart* is clearly context-dependent, because it refers to the first person, who is inevitably present in the process of communication, and to a part of this person. At the same time the noun *heart* is not retrievable. In the underlying structure, *my heart commands*

*me so*, the interpretation depends on the interplay of other factors; under certain circumstances the NP could be perceived as rhematic, however in (18) the semantic contents of the verb does not perspectivize the communication towards it, therefore the focusing by cleft construction is necessary.

### 3.3.2. Potentiality

Potentiality is a phenomenon that was dealt with by Vilém Mathesius in his renowned lecture “On the potentiality of the phenomena of language”. As well as on other levels of language, potentiality occurs in the sphere of FSP too. There are several typical situations when it typically happens. Dušková (2008: 6-8) lists these: indeterminacy in the semantic classification of the verb, the graded nature of givennes and the length of the retrievability span and indeterminacy in the componential structure of a lexical element. The first case involves a verb that could be possibly perceived both as a verb of appearance on the scene or existence and as a verb that fully conveys its semantic load, the examples being *wait* and *gather*. My corpus provides for instance this example,

(19) [...] *she flipped them casually into the swing-bin, then half-threw the hot frying pan into the wet sink. Water fizzed and steam rose at the impact, and she laughed, as if she has enjoyed causing this small havoc.* (Sen: 29)

where *fizz* and *rise* can be seen as verbs that are inherently semantically related to their respective subjects, water and steam. Generally, the structure corresponds to a typical Pr-Scale. On the other hand, the preceding sentence suggests that at least the concept of water is present in the immediately relevant context, because of the phrase *wet sink*. Therefore the verb *fizz* could be understood as a Quality, not Presentation; the water was already present on the scene. It seems that in the second case, *steam* may be perceived as context-dependent, but here it is used in the role of Phenomenon. As opposed to the former clause, the verb *rise* does express appearance as such, because steam only rarely travels in another direction than up.

The graded nature of givennes and the length of retrievability span are discussed in the section on context dependence.

The last situation described in the article is caused by the heterogenous nature of information units; sometimes it is not unequivocal whether an element is semantically affiliated to another one in the context and therefore is retrievable; let us for example consider this sequence:

(20)[...] *Vina has discovered the limitations, musical and verbal, of her own material. [...] but in Buenos Aires, São Paulo, Mexico City and Guadalajara she heard for herself the public's tepid responses to these songs [...]* (2 sentences) *But roars of acclaim followed each of the old hits from the VTO back catalogue [...]* (Gr: 8)

If it was absolutely certain that the NP *the old hits from the VTO catalogue* is context-dependent, the sentence could be without a problem interpreted as a Pr-Scale. However, the semantic connection between *her own material* and the object in the last sentence may not be convincing. Moreover, a link might be drawn between *tepid responses* and *roars of acclaim*. However, these phrases are in contrast, which causes high CD in the subject; furthermore, the semantic properties of the verb perspectivize the communication towards the subject rather than towards the object.

In respect of the analysis, potentiality is of particular interest, because it seems to operate in the “grey zones” between the two analyzed constructions. That is to say, there appears to exist an area where the Presentation Scale, due to the interplay of various factors, becomes unrecognizable and another, more explicit construction has to be adopted in order to keep the message clear. Let us consider these two examples:

(21) *There is no one else to whom I can address these remarks. You are the man in charge.* (Be: 33)

(22) *The note, the scale, the chord; melodies, harmonies, arrangements; symphonies, ragas, Chinese operas, jazz, the blues: that such things should exist, that we should have discovered the magical intervals and distances that yield the poor cluster of notes, all within the span of a human hand, from which we can build our cathedrals of sound, is as alchemical a mystery as mathematics, or wine, or love. Maybe the birds taught us.* (Gr: 19)

The two underlined sentences could be well transformed into it-clefts: *It is you who is in charge* and *Maybe it was the birds that taught us*. The non-clefted variants in written language are possible because the structure of these sentences is extremely simple. In spoken communication, on the other hand, the structure could be more complex because of the additional FSP factor of intonation that would safely mark the subjects as rhemes, as in

(23) *"Just give the Voice what she needs," he said. (2 sentences) It was my friend Edward, when I told him about Conor's mother in advance of meeting her,*

who had christened her the Voice – short for the Voice of Doom – and even  
Conor took it up. (Be: 176)

where the character named Edward has not been mentioned before and is therefore context-independent. Consequently it is the most dynamic element in the underlined clause, which would normally make it the rheme. Nevertheless, the structure is much more complex than in (21) or (22) and in addition the noun phrase does not contain overt markers of context-independence (such as an indefinite article); on the contrary, its CD is lowered by the possessive pronoun. In spite of that it is still the rheme; but while in written language it has to be syntactically focused, in speech the underlying structure (*My friend Edward had christened her the Voice*) with prosodic prominence on the subject would be sufficiently explicit.

### 3.3.3. Correspondence of the constructions to dynamic semantic scales

Despite the fact that, as was explained above, preverbal rhematic subjects are the most typical form to embody a Presentation Scale and the tendency of it-clefts with focused subject to represent the underlying structure of a Quality Scale, we cannot simply ascribe all examples to their respective “typical” scale. Generally, it seems that if all clauses are to be classified as one of the mentioned scales or its subtypes, ambiguities begin to appear. Let us take for example this sentence:

(24) *There is no one else to whom I can address these remarks. You are the man in charge.* (Be: 33)

which is discussed in section 3.3.1. as possibly ambiguous due to the unclear context in/dependence of the subject complement. If for the sake of the argument we interpret the pronoun *you* as rhematic (which is perfectly possible), it is unclear which scale we are dealing with. On the one hand, the communication is perspectivized towards the subject, on the other hand some quality is still being ascribed to it by the most typical means – the copula. An alternative interpretation might be that of the so-called second instance, when a context-dependent element is repeated in order to achieve a strong contrast (Firbas 1992: 110-111).

In their paper on Presentation Scales, Adam and Chamonikolasová give what I believe is a similar example, with the exception that the subject is context-independent:

(25) *A v tom údolí si postavil chatu jeden můj bývalý spolužák.* (Chamonikolasová and Adam 2005: 65)

They interpret the structure as a special kind of Presentation Scale with a specification of the process of presentation (ibid. 65). Dušková (2008: 75) considers this problematic, since what is being presented on the scene is *chatu* rather than *jeden můj bývalý spolužák*.

Here the communication is certainly perspectivized towards the subject, but it is questionable whether it can be classified as a presentation, since the structure fails to display most of the features typical of Pr-Scales. In relation to this, Dušková cites another Czech example taken from Sgall, Hajičová and Buráňová (1980: 42), in which an action verb serves as a Presentation:

(26) *U nás pečou housky pekaři.*

However, as Dušková (ibid.) points out, in this sentence the Pr-Scale interpretation is enabled by the semantic affinity of the subject to the verb, which example (25) does not display. While the relationship between *pekaři* – *pečou* might be compared for example with such *dog* – *bark* or *lightning* – *glitter*, where the verb denotes an inherent quality of the noun, there is no such affinity between *spolužák* – *postavit*. Nor is there any other semantic relationship associated with presentation, such as verb of production – effected object (this relationship appears only between *postavit* and *chatu*) or even verb – affected object (Firbas 1992: 64). As Dušková notes concerning (25), if anything is presented, it is the cottage (*chatu*) (Dušková 2008: 75).

My corpus provides some examples that are problematic in this respect, such as the already cited:

(27) *The note, the scale, the chord; melodies, harmonies, arrangements; symphonies, ragas, Chinese operas, jazz, the blues: that such things should exist, that we should have discovered the magical intervals and distances that yield the poor cluster of notes, all within the span of a human hand, from which we can build our cathedrals of sound, is as alchemical a mystery as mathematics, or wine, or love. Maybe the birds taught us.* (Gr: 19)

which differs from (25) only in that there is no Ph. There is no instance of the word *birds* (notwithstanding the definite article) in the preceding context and the verb *teach* is context-dependent, as well as the pronoun *us*. Thus *the birds* must be the rheme due to its high CD. The sentence, however, does not correspond to the pattern of Pr-Scales for the same reasons as (25). At the same time it cannot be claimed that it is an example of second instance level, which is a secondary information structure not subject to the usual criteria. It is realized on the ordinary instance level, where some parts are context-dependent and some are not; theoretically it should embody one of the dynamic semantic scales. It is my opinion that the

above example, however rare it may be, cannot be classified as a representative of either scale, unless Bearer of Quality can become a rheme. Alternatively, it could be interpreted as the intersection between the two scales, making it one of the rare candidates for both it-cleft and a regular sentence with a subject in the preverbal position.

## 4. Research Part

### 4.1. Preverbal rhematic subjects

#### 4.1.1. Dynamic semantic scales

Dynamic semantic scales were already discussed in the theoretical part of the thesis, so only a brief introduction is needed. Again, it must be stressed that a Pr-Scale is not equal to a sentence containing a rhematic subject in preverbal position and vice versa. The Presentation Scale can be implemented by several constructions, as described for example in (Dušková 1998) or (Adam 2011). In addition, it is not evident if every sentence with a subject displaying the highest degree of CD and the regular word order is an implementation of the Pr-Scale. The so-called second instance is one of the exceptions. Other problematic cases include sentences similar to those treated in section 3.3.3.

It should also be noted that the Pr-Scale can express not only appearance and existence on the scene, but also disappearance or non-existence, or even end of existence, as in *President Kennedy has been assassinated* (Firbas 1992: 64). Examples from my corpus include:

(28) *No wind blew.* (Har: 122)

(29) *No voice spoke.* (Har: 122)

(30) *However, no guitar players were included among those invited to coo over the new-born baby at the Sisters of Maria Gratiaplana Nursing Home on Altamount Road [...]* (Gr: 23)

Apart from Pr-Scales proper there are also unambiguous examples of Extended Presentation Scales as they are defined in section 2.2.1. They are:

(31) *The river now goes to sea, but when St Ker first arrived there in 682 AD, the river went in the opposite direction, flowing through Ayrshire's bracken woods towards the lowlands of Lanarkshire, where the tributaries of several Scottish rivers gather in green, heathery lochs, and where home-remembering salmon and handmade arrowheads can still be seen glinting in the shallows.* (Be: 25)

(32) *A group of boys came up holding pints.* (Be: 59)

Needless to say, in Chamonikolasová and Adam's wider understanding there would be more instances. Fortunately, the distinction between subtypes of the Pr-Scale is not so vital in the analysis; what is more important is the comparison with it-clefts.



In addition to that, the sample corpus also includes two special Presentation sentences, Pr-Scales with a Specification of the process of presentation, where the Sp displays the highest degree of CD:

(33) *Meanwhile, in the courtyard of the buses, small dust-clouds were rushing back and forth like little desert whirlwinds.* (Har: 32)

(34) *Fear had begun to ooze from him in globules of rancid sweat.* (Gr: 10)

The Sp in (33) could also be interpreted as a discontinuous postmodification; in that case the subject itself would carry the highest degree of CD.

There are also examples with a rhematic subject, which however do not demonstrate other features of Pr-Scales, such as the usual semantic properties of the verb, and, perhaps most importantly, the whole concept of introducing a phenomenon into the communication. This problem has already been discussed in section 3.3.3. These problematic sentences include for instance:

(35) *"I certainly don't," Haroun retorted. "And anyway, even if you do turn off your Story Water, my father will still be able to tell stories. "Anybody can tell stories," Iff replied.* (Har: 58)

where *tell stories* is context dependent and the item with highest CD is the pronoun *anyone*. All elements but one are context dependent; the one pushes the communication forward and therefore can be interpreted as the rheme. Nevertheless, it cannot be claimed that the verb introduces something or someone into the discourse. Another similar example is:

(36) *The note, the scale, the chord; melodies, harmonies, arrangements; symphonies, ragas, Chinese operas, jazz, the blues: that such things should exist, that we should have discovered the magical intervals and distances that yield the poor cluster of notes, all within the span of a human hand, from which we can build our cathedrals of sound, is as alchemical a mystery as mathematics, or wine, or love. Maybe the birds taught us.* (Gr: 19)

In (36), the meaning of the verb is derivable from the context, since the preceding sentence gives the reader the information that "we have discovered music, but it is a mystery *how* we did so", and the new information is not expressed by the verb, but by the noun phrase. It is more important *who* taught people music than what *the birds* did. Yet, birds are presented as a known phenomenon (due to the definite article, which, although it is not anaphoric,

contributes to the NP's lower CD, as opposed to an indefinite article, which can raise CD), not as one that is being introduced, even though the NP is context-independent. Because of the decisive influence of the context, the noun phrase *the birds* is considered to be rhematic in the analysis. However, concerning dynamic semantic scales, (35), (36) and all other similar examples are classified as problematic on the basis of above mentioned arguments.

Another category includes sentences potentially interpretable as both Pr-Scale and Q-Scale. These are:

(37) [...] *she flipped them casually into the swing-bin, then half-threw the hot frying pan into the wet sink. Water fizzed and steam rose at the impact, and she laughed, as if she has enjoyed causing this small havoc.* (Sen: 29)

(38) *Mark appeared on the screen looking older. He was wearing a jacket and tie and his hair was combed with a side parting. I saw he had changed in small ways over the summer: he looked that day like a young man about to take on the world, using his hands to articulate the steps of his molestation as if explaining the rules of modern economics. Measures of pride and reason had embedded themselves in Mark's speech; he knew who he wanted to be and his charisma has quietened into a display of refreshing plausibility.* (Be: 250)

In (37), the phrase *wet sink* implies the presence of water, enabling the interpretation where *water* is the Bearer of Quality and *fizz* the Quality. Nevertheless, the structure can still be perceived as a regular Pr-Scale. (38) is similar; while Mark is definitely context-dependent, it can be argued that *Mark's speech* is the Specification and rheme, because the subject, *measures of pride and reason* can be considered as related to *a young man about to take on the world* and therefore a Bearer of Quality (in addition, *speech* is contrastive to other attributes of *Mark*). On the other hand, it can be argued that the *Mark's speech* is implied by the context and can be considered a mere Setting, making the subject a Phenomenon in a Pr-Scale.

The percentages of the described types of dynamic semantic scales are as follows:

**Table 3 - Dynamic semantic scales in sentences with preverbal rhematic subjects**

<b>dynamic semantic scale</b>	<b>percent</b>
Presentation Scale	90%
Extended Presentation Scale	2%
special Presentation Scale	2%
problematic	4%
ambiguous	2%

#### **4.1.2. Realization form of the subject**

It can be supposed that the form of a preverbal rhematic subject influences the interpretation of the whole structure. It can either be in accordance with other FSP principles or act against them. For example, the identification of a sentence as a Pr-Scale is facilitated if the subject is evidently context-independent, bears a high degree of CD and displays semantic affinity with the verb. For this reason I differentiated several kinds of realization forms. The first category taken into consideration is what part(s) of speech the subject is constituted by. The most frequent form in this respect is a noun phrase, beside which I also found examples of subjects realized by pronouns (personal and indefinite) and nominal relative clause. I classified proper names as a separate category and differentiated homogenous and heterogenous noun phrases (from the viewpoint of context-dependence: a homogenous NP contains items that are equally context-(in)dependent, a heterogenous one is composed of elements that differ in this respect).

These aspects are important because they can strengthen or weaken their interpretation as a Phenomenon. For instance, a noun phrase is more likely to be rightly understood as one since nouns express definiteness and therefore it is easier to determine whether they are context dependent, as opposed to proper names or pronouns. The opposite is true for personal pronouns, which, barring exceptions, are always context-dependent. The distinction between homogenous and heterogenous noun phrases serves the same purpose; a heterogenous NP contains an item that acts counter to FSP principles: it lowers CD.

The results correspond to the expectation; the most frequent realization form is the noun phrase:

Table 4 - Realization forms of preverbal rhematic subjects

realization form	percent
noun phrase	95%
pronouns	3%
proper name	1%
nominal relative clause	1%

Only 5 (4.7%) of the total 95 noun phrases are heterogenous. Examples include:

(39)*Next to the kettle my mobile was bleeping to show a text had arrived.* (Be: 156)

(40)*Then he'd switch off his engine with an innocent smile; while on the far side of the courtyard, a different bus would start up, and the passengers would start running all over again.* (Har: 32)

Each of the two rhematic subjects contains a context-dependent element. In the former case, it is the possessive pronoun *my*, in the latter example the noun *bus*. However, there is a perceptible difference in the influence of these given items. In the first case the pronoun to a certain extent defines the mobile phone in the sense that it is not an unknown item but an object about which the reader already knows something (who it belongs to). Nevertheless, the verb perspectivizes the communication towards this very subject (bleeping can be considered innate characteristics of a mobile phone) and the construction can be identified as a Pr-Scale (for some researchers it is an example of an Extended Presentation Scale). In the second sentence, however, it is the noun that is context-dependent as opposed to a context-independent modifier (adjective). According to Dušková, this set-up is the more frequent one than vice versa, both in the theme and rheme (Dušková 1999: 293). The context-independence of the adjective overshadows the fact that buses were previously mentioned; the modifier not only describes the properties of the vehicle, it emphasizes that it is not the same bus as those talked about previously. The subject thus represents, despite the context-dependent part, a new piece of information and is clearly rhematic.

The only example of a proper name in the role of a rhematic preverbal subject is the following sentence:

(41)*Then I met Margaret; we married, and three years later Susie was born.* (Sen: 54)

Evidently, this is not a very frequent pattern, the reasons being the very nature of proper names, which are mostly definite (although not always context dependent, of course) and it is usual that they enter a text only after they are somehow introduced in it, but because of their definiteness it is rather infrequent for them to become a preverbal rhematic subject. It is also virtually out of question that they could be semantically related to a verb. The interpretation of the example above as a Pr-Scale is enabled by the facts that *be born* is an absolutely explicit verb of appearance; more precisely, it denotes not only the appearance of the character, but the very beginning of her existence and thus it fulfils the role of introducing the character into discourse.

#### 4.1.3. Semantics of the verb

As was mentioned in the theoretical part, the factors that determine dynamic semantic functions include static semantics, which is substantial especially in the domain of the verb, because it is mostly the transition that determines where the communication is directed. Consequently, Adam and other members of the Brno School devoted several studies to the semantic aspects of Presentation Scales. Research has shown that the scope of verbs which are capable of assuming the role of a Presentation is greater than was previously thought and the number of such verbs is practically unlimited. The key factor that enables a verb to perspectivize the communication towards the subject is the semantic affinity between these two elements. Thus the verb does not add any significant semantic content and the emphasis shifts to the subject.

Adam (2011b) published a paper on the classification of the verbs occurring in Pr-Scales. He divides them into two major categories, the first of which consists of explicit verbs of appearance. These are “by their nature, dynamic, mostly intransitive, and carry the meaning of appearance, both as a result of a dynamic process or seen in the process of motion proper.” (ibid. 22) As is evident from the table in the Methodology section, within this category I decided to distinguish verbs of appearance, existence and verbs of movement.

The second category includes verbs that express appearance in a sufficiently implicit manner (ibid. 23). Adam then provides some answers about what these verbs that fall in different semantic groups have in common and what it is that allows them to fulfil their role. Largely, it is the semantic affinity between the Pr-verb and the subject. Adam also mentions the immediately relevant verbal and situational context. Another feature of a Pr-Scale with this

kind of a verb is that it can be rephrased using an explicit verb of appearance or existential construction (ibid. 24).<sup>2</sup>

Adam goes on to classify the sufficiently implicit verbs in the following categories:

- a) [Manifestations of] Natural and supernatural phenomena unaffected by people, such as weather
- b) [Inherent actions of] fauna and flora
- c) facial expressions and bodily feelings, at times expressed metaphorically or via personification of an inanimate object
- d) inherent qualities/actions of inanimate objects
- e) sensory actions, possibly expressed metaphorically or via personification of an inanimate object

(ibid. 25-26)

All of these are represented in my corpus, along with other subtypes of presentation verbs, based on (Dušková: 1998) and (Firbas: 1992). Below is the full typology with examples:

- explicit verbs of appearance
  - appearance proper  
(42) *The faces of small children appeared; they had different haircuts, the children, but the same eyes, and their voices rose in anticipation of a challenge and an opportunity.* (Be: 55)
  - existence  
(43) *Dead flies lay on the windowsill, crisp in the sun.* (Be: 212)
  - appearance – movement  
(44) *Through an open porthole a few paces from the Cultmaster, bizarre rooty tendrils began to enter the Dark Ship.* (Har: 163)
- sufficiently implicit verbs of appearance
  - natural and supernatural phenomena  
(45) *Light blazed out through the windows, so that the fantastic monsters were visible from some distance, and seemed to be glowing in the dark.* (Har: 51)
  - inherent actions of fauna and flora (and possibly humans, as in (47))  
(46) *Insects stung my neck.* (Gr: 17)

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<sup>2</sup> Since Adam deals almost exclusively with active verbs, this may not be true for passive Pr-sentences where the original object and resultant subject is affected by the action expressed by the verb.

- (47) *There were few tourists; a rollerblader rattled past behind us.* (Sen: 90)
    - facial/bodily expressions
  - (48) *What can only be described as a look of utter hatred suddenly crossed the good man's eyes.* (Be: 34)
    - inherent qualities/actions of inanimate objects
  - (49) *Then he'd switch off his engine with an innocent smile; while on the far side of the courtyard, a different bus would start up, and the passengers would start running all over again.* (Har: 32)
    - sensory actions and personified inanimate object
  - (50) *Old political notions tugged at me, 1960s notions, but I thought there was something in what Mark was trying to say.* (Be: 41)
    - sensory perception
  - (51) *The small energies of disdain could be observed in all this, and the classroom fairly jingled with the sound of forbidden rings and bracelets.* (Be: 38)
    - verba efficiendi
  - (52) *Whose chief characteristic is that nothing can be done about it: too much time has passed, too much damage has been done, for amends to be made.* (Sen: 99)
    - other implicit verbs of appearance
  - (53) *An empty explosives factory marks the skyline of Dalgarnock, but the better part of the town seems to be given over to black and white council houses with windows the size of bibles.* (Be: 25)
  - (54) *I wrote letters and my mother wrote letters; it came to seem to me a production out of Genesis, and a truck was hired, special feed was arranged, permissions were sought and hastily denied and then warily granted.* (Be: 103)
- other
  - copular identification
    - (55) *There is no one else to whom I can address these remarks. You are the man in charge.* (Be: 33)
  - other
    - (56) *The note, the scale, the chord; melodies, harmonies, arrangements; symphonies, ragas, Chinese operas, jazz, the blues: that such things should exist, that we should have discovered the magical intervals and distances that yield the poor cluster of notes, all within the span of a human hand,*

*from which we can build our cathedrals of sound, is as alchemical a mystery as mathematics, or wine, or love. Maybe the birds taught us. (Gr: 19)*

Although this categorization may appear too complicated, the most important difference lies between explicit and implicit verbs of appearance. The subdivision of implicit presentation verbs only shows the usual contexts in which semantic affinity appears; it is however useful, as these contexts seem to be limited. The distinction is not clearly cut; Adam himself admits that the categories may overlap (Adam 2011b: 25). Apart from that, I had to create the category “other verbs of implicit appearance” for verbs that could not fit any other category.

As is evident from the examples cited, these categories include verbs in both the active and passive. The difference in semantics between the two of them is further elaborated on in the section on transitivity.

The following tables show the distribution of the types and subtypes:

Table 5 – primary typology of verb semantics

verb semantics	percent
explicit appearance	41%
implicit appearance	55%
other	4%

Table 6 – subtypes of verbs of explicit appearance

subtype of explicit appearance	percent
appearance proper	39%
existence	22%
appearance - movement	39%



Table 7 – subtypes of verbs of implicit appearance

subtype of implicit appearance	percent
natural and supernatural phenomena	9%
inherent actions of fauna and flora	9%
facial/bodily expressions	1.8%
verba efficiendi	14.5%
other implicit verbs of appearance	14.5%
inherent qualities/actions of inanimate objects	21.8%
sensory actions and personified inanimate object	25.5%
sensory perception	3.6%

It should be noted that the primary division, i.e. into explicit and implicit appearance, is considered hierarchically higher in the analysis, meaning that for example the sentence

(57) *A strange smile – same as Mark's, now that I think of it – appeared between the mounds of his cheeks and he lit a cigarette.* (Be: 84)

was classified as an example of explicit appearance, not facial/bodily expression. Hence the relatively low percentage of that category; apart from (57), there is another similar example with the verb *appear*.

#### 4.1.4. Transitivity

Verbal valency, or more precisely transitivity, was included in the analysis in order to determine (a) what percentage of Pr-Scale verbs is intransitive (which is considered a typical feature of a Presentation) (b) how the sentences with transitive, reflexive and copular verbs tend to differ in other aspects, such as verbal voice or verb semantics.

The results are as follows:

Table 8 - transitivity

verbal transitivity	percent
intransitive	64%
transitive	30%
reflexive	2%
copular	3%
transitive and intransitive combined	1%

What might seem most surprising is the relatively high percentage of transitive verbs, given the fact that the vast majority of the example sentences can be classified as Pr-Scales, whose verbs are typically supposed to be intransitive. However, this is explained by the fact that 17 (56.7%) of these verbs are in the passive, which means they constitute a different type of Pr-Scale. The main difference lies in the semantics of the verb; while in active Pr-Scales the most frequent verb types are explicit or sufficiently implicit verbs of appearance/existence on the scene. On the other hand, passive presentation verbs tend to belong to the category of verbs of sensory perception or *verba efficiendi*, where the object is effected by the action denoted by the verb (Dušková a kol. 1994: 360).

Nevertheless, there are verbs that are both transitive and active. In some example sentences, the object semantically corresponds to a setting, according to Firbas “the object expresses a phenomenon that is filled, permeated or covered by another phenomenon” (Firbas 1992: 61). For example,

(58) *An empty explosives factory marks the skyline of Dalgarnock, but the better part of the town seems to be given over to black and white council houses with windows the size of bibles.* (Be: 25)

where *the skyline of Dalgarnock* is from the semantic point of view spatial setting.

Firbas also mentions a subtype in which a part of the human body functions as the setting (ibid. 61), as in

(59) *Insects stung my neck.* (Gr: 17)

or similarly:

(60) *What can only be described as a look of utter hatred suddenly crossed the good man's eyes.* (Be: 34)

These were examples of spatial setting, which is more frequent. Object in the role of temporal setting is less usual, but evidently even such cases exist:

(61) *Great snowfalls filled November.* (Be: 163)

(62) *I think I closed my eyes, then eruptions of panic and weakness and embarrassment filled the moment.* (204)

Apparently, (58), (61) and (62) are not the prototypical way to express their respective contents. From the stylistic point of view, the use of existential construction (*There is an empty*

*explosives factory on the skyline of Dalgarnock, There were great snowfalls in November*) would be more neutral. The purpose of the constructions with preverbal rhematic subject is thus either to avoid repeating certain patterns or to achieve an aesthetic effect.

It is interesting to see the semantic roles of all relevant sentence constituents in the examples with transitive verbs in active. In total, there are 13 of these. In 7 cases, the object functions as the setting (both spatial and temporal, as was discussed above). 2 cases, (35) and (36), were discussed in 4.1.1, the subchapter dealing with dynamic semantic scales, classified as problematic, meaning that they are not typical representatives of the Pr-Scale. In 2 cases, there is an inanimate subject expressing an emotion or feeling and the object is the person who experiences it, for example:

(63) *Haroun had wanted to take Blabbermouth, but a shyness overcame him, and besides, she seemed to want to stay with Mudra the Shadow Warrior.*  
(Har: 139)

The data thus show that transitive presentation verbs are mostly limited to a certain pattern in which the subject and object assume the above described roles.

As to passive verbs, the original object and subsequent subject typically has the role of an effected goal, which expresses its appearance, for instance *too much damage has been done* in (52); damage exists only after it has been done. Firbas points out, however, that even an affected object can become the Ph in a Pr-Scale, under the necessary condition that it is context-independent. What is introduced is the effect on the affected element (Firbas 1992: 64). This can be illustrated e.g. on the clause *a truck was hired* from example (54). The truck is not created nor introduced in the strict sense of the word by the action denoted by *hire*, but it is because of the effect of the action that it is presented into the communication. In my semantic classification these are subsumed under the category of “other implicit verbs of appearance”.

Quantitatively, 17 (56.7%) of the total 30 instances of transitive verbs were in passive. Their semantic properties are as follows:

Table 9: semantics of passive verbs

semantics of the verb	percent
appearance proper	5.9%
existence	17.6%
other implicit appearance	23.5%
sensory perception	11.8%
verba efficiendi	41.1%

There are also two examples of reflexive verbs:

(64) *Mark appeared on the screen looking older. [2 sentences] Measures of pride and reason had embedded themselves in Mark's speech; he knew who he wanted to be and his charisma has quietened into a display of refreshing plausibility.* (Be: 250)

(65) *When new limbs began to push themselves out from his sides, he understood that he was somehow turning into a monster just like those he had been killing; and above him the princess caught at her throat and cried out in a faint voice: "Eek, my dearest, you have into a large spider turned."* (Har: 74)

Although reflexive verbs are untypical, they seem to fit the category of sufficiently implicit presentation verbs. They are only a subtype of transitive verbs where the object is coreferential to the subject (Dušková et al. 1994: 209), which in fact supports the presentation function, for the object is necessarily context-dependent.

In conclusion, it can be claimed that there is significant diversity in the category of transitivity in presentation verbs, and that this diversity does not seem to cause any ambiguity as long as the verb possesses the necessary semantic properties. This is, to a significant extent, enabled by the different possible semantic roles the English object is able to assume (effected object, affected object, setting). In general, the types of the verbs and objects tend to operate in such a direction as to support the characteristics of the Pr-Scale.

#### 4.1.5. Setting/scene

In Pr-Scale sentences, the Setting is, unlike Phenomenon and Presentation, optional. It is a thematic element, regardless of its position within the sentence. It is most often realized by an adverbial of time or place; however, as was noted in the previous section about transitivity, it can be constituted even by the object in the Pr-Scale. This is true for both the temporal and

spatial setting. In the case of the adverbial, the same element can function both as thematic setting and rhematic Specification, depending on its context-dependence (Firbas 1992: 50). In the analysis I distinguish temporal and spatial settings and those realized by the object. The percentage of the types is shown in the table below:

Table 10 – types of Setting

Setting	percent
spatial	45%
spatial - object	5%
temporal	10%
temporal - object	2%
spatial and temporal	4%
spatial, spatial - object and temporal	1%
none	33%

Clearly, spatial setting is more frequent than temporal. Objects in the role of a setting are not extremely rare. In one case, an object with the function of spatial setting is accompanied by both spatial and temporal adverbials:

(66) *And just then, at the open window, a hand touched my shoulder and I reached up for it without turning, and I knew he was speaking Shakespeare through a smile, as he often did in that summer of love.* (Be: 53)

Despite the unquestionable fact that setting is an optional component in both Scales, there is a sentence in my corpus in which spatial setting appears to actually enable the interpretation as a Pr-Scale:

(67) *Next to the kettle my mobile was bleeping to show a text had arrived.* (Be: 156)

If we deleted the adverbial, the resultant sentence, *My mobile was bleeping to show a text had arrived*, could possibly be perceived as a Q-Scale, where *my mobile* would constitute the theme and *to show a text had arrived* a Specification, that is rheme proper. This is possible due to the heterogeneous nature of the NP (which is, as was shown, infrequent in Pr-Scales and in this case it could signal context-dependence) and the absence of another theme. On the other

hand, when the setting is included, it fills the position of the theme and the subject is more likely to be interpreted as a Phenomenon.

## 4.2. It-clefts

### 4.2.1. Stressed focus and informative-presupposition it-clefts

This division of it-clefts was devised by Ellen Prince in her article on cleft constructions (Prince 1978). It is based on the nature of information present in the that-clause. According to Prince, “In the stressed-focus it-cleft, the that-clause represents known or old information, which is not marked as assumed to be in the hearer’s consciousness and which is not the theme” (Prince 1978: 896). On the other hand, the informative-presupposition it-clefts present new information in the that-clause and the focused element tends to be short and anaphoric (ibid 989-999), so they do not focus the subject in the strict sense (again I consider only the relevant subtype: focused subject). It follows that the subject in the former type had much higher CD than in the latter case.

Prince states that in stressed focus it-clefts, the focused item has the highest degree of CD and that-clauses, on the contrary, display CD so low that in many cases the clause can be deleted (ibid. 896-897). Although stressed focus it-clefts prevail, there is not an abundance of sentences where the deletion is an option. One of the examples where it is possible is:

(68) *It was not the ceaseless motion of the sea that disturbed me, nor the wind; you get used to those the way you get used to lumps in a mattress. It was apprehension and anxiety that roused me.* (Pi: 193)

in which the last clause could be transformed simply to *It was apprehension and anxiety*, because *rouse* expresses a similar concept as *disturb* and hence is not only context-dependent, but also deletable. There are several examples in which the dependent clause has actually been deleted, for instance:

(69) *God never came. It wasn't God who saved me – it was medicine.* (Pi: 27)

(70) *All over the world, when the news of her death breaks, people pour into the streets, whatever their local hour, pushed out of their homes by a force they can't yet name. It's not the news of the earthquake that galvanizes them, not the myriad Mexican dead they're mourning, it's just her.* (Gr: 480)

Otherwise, there usually is some additional information in the that-clause which adds some CD and prevent the clause from being redundant, as in the following:

(71) *It is interesting to note that the lion that is the most amenable to the circus trainer's tricks is the one with the lowest social standing in the pride, the omega animal. (3 sentences) It is this compliant animal, to the public no different from the others in size and apparent ferocity, that will be the star of the show, while the trainer leaves the beta and gamma lions, more cantankerous subordinates, sitting on their colourful barrels on the edge of the ring. (Pi: 44)*

Being *amenable to the circus trainer's tricks* does have a connection with being *the star of the show*, but not to such an extent that the latter could be omitted. Furthermore, sometimes it may not be obvious whether the information in the subordinate clause is new or not. The reasons are similar to those described in 3.3.1.

Stressed focus it-clefts prevail in my corpus, constituting 64%, as opposed to only 36% of informative-presupposition it-clefts. The proportion may depend on text type and possibly differs from text to text; according to Dušková, the informative-presupposition type prevails both in fiction and in academic prose (Dušková 2010: 32).

In the first type the focused element, in this case the subject, displays the highest degree of CD; it is important to realize why it is so. It cannot be claimed that it is because the subjects express new, context-independent information: of the 64 instances of stressed focus it-clefts 57 (89%) subjects are context dependent, often inherently, as in the case of personal pronouns (see the subchapter on realization form). The more likely answer is that these items, although context-dependent, acquire additional meaning which disengages them from the context. According to Firbas, there are five such situations: selection, contrast, identification, purposeful repetition and the summarizing effect (Firbas 1995: 22). The last named does not concern individual elements but a longer stretch of a text. There are more textual roles of the same kind, namely topic launching and topic linking (Mojžíšová 2009: 37). Some of these functions are described in more detail in the following section on textual roles.

#### 4.2.1.1. Textual role

Textual factors operate on the level of context (Dušková 2010: 31) on the basis of which the element in question is assigned new, irretrievable meaning. In the following paragraphs I give examples of each textual role found in my corpus.

To illustrate selection, we may consider for example the following sentence, when one character of many is singled out:

(72) *While everyone's attention was focused on the accident of Virus, on Cyrus's murderous streak, on the mystical absentness of Lady Spenta and the decay of Sir Darius, it was Ameer who kept her eye on the ball.* (Gr: 53)

Contrast is very frequent; sometimes both elements that are being contrasted are explicitly expressed, in other cases the relationship is implicit, as in (74); the last sentence could be rephrased as *It was him that wanted to go places, not us.*

(73) *Suddenly I was hit hard across the face. (17 sentences) It was about fifteen inches long and it had wings. A flying fish. (1 sentence) It was this flying fish that had struck me across the face, not Richard Parker.* (Pi: 174)

(74) *He took trouble with you that few other individuals would have taken, and you rewarded him by drawing him into circumstances you knew would be difficult for him. Is that not right?" "Naw," she said. "It was him that wanted to go to places.* (Be: 249)

The next factor is identification, which can be defined as a new identifying link between two (mostly) context-dependent items (Mojžíšová 2009: 45).

(75) *Some meerkittens had discovered the warmer parts of my body. I had a tight, sweaty collar of them around my neck – and it must have been their mother who had settled herself so contentedly on the side of my head – while others had wedged themselves in my groin area.* (Pi: 268)

In many cases identification is difficult to distinguish from selection, especially when there is no list of items from which the focused subject is selected. In the analysis, I preferred the label of identification where there was no explicit or implicit set of items to select from in the immediately relevant context.

The only textual function involving longer stretches of text that has been found is topic launching. The it-cleft introduces a concept which is subsequently treated in the following sentences. Whether the introduced topic is in the focused part of the cleft structure or in the subordinate clause depends on the type of the it-cleft as described by Prince. Topic launching can be illustrated on the following example, where the subject is context-independent:

(76) *But it was the meerkats that impressed themselves most indelibly on my mind. I saw in one look what I would conservatively estimate to be hundreds of thousands of meerkats.* (Pi: 258)



In another case, the subject is, on the contrary, context dependent:

(77) *It was Richard Parker who calmed me down. It is the irony of this story that the one who scared me witless to start with was the very same who brought me peace, purpose, I dare say even wholeness.* (Pi: 157)

2 out of the 3 instances of topic launching (the ones cited above) were paragraph-initial. This corresponds to the results of Dušková's study (Dušková 2010b: 38).

Generally, the subtype of textual function concerning larger stretches of text is rather rare in my corpus (I failed to find a single instance of a topic-linking or summarizing it-cleft); the probable reason being the text type. Dušková's research shows that it-clefts in fiction are more often of the stressed focus type and the textual functions differ; for instance, topic linking appears to be more frequent in academic prose than in fiction (ibid. 43).

According to Prince, informative-presupposition it-clefts have the function of marking the information in the that-clause as a fact, which can also allow the speaker/writer to be less responsible for the claim (Prince 1978: 899-900). Let us consider the following examples from my corpus:

(78) *Who was it said that memory is what we thought we'd forgotten?* (Sen: 63)

(79) *"It was Balzac," Hulot said, "who told Nadar that photographs stripped away the subject's personality."* (221)

(78) presupposes that someone indeed said that "memory is what we thought we'd forgotten" and similarly, the speaker in (79) does not present the information as something he just learnt has happened, but as a fact that the hearer is not yet aware of. This type is named "marking given information" in my classification.

The table below shows the representation of individual text roles:

Table 11 – textual roles in it-clefts

Textual role	percent
contrast	52%
identification	28%
selection	13%
marking given information	4%
topic launching	3%

The numbers are not surprising: contrast being the most frequent textual role, followed by identification and selection (their respective representation might differ according to the exact criteria to distinguish these two roles). No instances of textual functions concerning longer stretches of text or organizing the structure of a paragraph (such as summarizing or topic linking it-cleft) were found except several examples of topic launching, which were typically paragraph-initial.

#### 4.2.2. Dynamic semantic scales and context-dependence

Considering the fact that stressed focus it-clefts prevail in my corpus, and their subjects are mostly context-dependent, it follows that their underlying structure corresponds to the Q-Scale and it is only due to the cleft that they become rhematic. For example:

- (80) *It was about fifteen inches long and it had wings. A flying fish. [1 sentence]  
It was this flying fish that had struck me across the face, not Richard Parker.*  
(Pi: 174)

The underlying structure is *This flying fish had struck me across the face*. Given that the *flying fish* is clearly context-dependent, the noun phrase would be without a question interpreted as a theme. Therefore, it has to be focused in order to become a rheme and a contrastive element to *Richard Parker*.

As regards the Presentation Scale, there is one particularly interesting sentence which displays all features typical of Pr-Scales:

- (81) *Painstakingly, she worked from the top down, in the manner of the master builders of the great Kailash temple at Ellora, that overwhelming monolith hewn by successive generations out of the living rock. And yes, it was a building that appeared, but one entirely free of devotional content.* (63)

It is a rare exception to see the most explicit verb of appearance in an it-cleft, especially following a subject with an indefinite article (and consequently higher degree of CD). The reason is that the subject would be perceived as a rheme even without the focusing. However, the sentence does not express the same meaning as a regular Presentation Scale; from the context, the reader knows that something is being built, but it turns out to be a different kind of edifice than it was expected. The additional meaning accounts for the use of the cleft

construction; the textual role of contrast seem to prefer the it-cleft. Nevertheless, such cases seem to be very infrequent; neither an indefinite article in the subject nor a verb of appearance can be found in the rest of my examples of it-clefts.

There are, however, sentences in which the subject is context-independent. These can be divided into two groups. First, there are sentences without preceding context, such as citations or quotes, for instance:

(82) *In the front lobby, carved into a stone wall, was a Latin motto, Venus significat humanitatem. It is love that is the sign of our humanity.* (Gr: 414)

(83) *"It was Balzac," Hulot said, "who told Nadar that photographs stripped away the subject's personality."* (Gr: 221)

One reason why the it-cleft is used in these is what Prince describes as marking information as old or known (Prince 1978: 899-900; see 4.2.1.1).

There is another reason apart from that: Svoboda in his article about dynamic semantic scales (Svoboda 2006: 218) suggests that dynamic semantic scales can, especially in written language, help to determine the dynamic semantic roles when other factors, context and word order, fail to make them clear, for instance in the first sentence of a text, where there is no preceding context. The two sentences above are not text-initial, but they have been stripped of context and inserted in a text that has no connection to their contents, corresponding to what Firbas calls the basic instance (Firbas 1992: 112). If we take the underlying structures, *Love is the sign of our humanity* and *Balzac told Nadar that photographs stripped away the subject's personality*, and consider them on the basis of word order and Svoboda's point, we inevitably come to the conclusion that they both embody the Q-scale and the most dynamic elements are *sign of our humanity* and *the subject's personality*, respectively. That is why the it-cleft had to be used, to structure the information when other factors are unavailable.

The second type of it-cleft constructions with context independent subject can be illustrated by this example:

(84) *I saw all around this forest hundreds of hundreds of evenly scattered, identically sized ponds with trees sparsely distributed in a uniform way between them, the whole arrangement giving the unmistakable impression of following a design. [end of paragraph] But it was the meerkats that impressed themselves most indelibly on my mind. I saw in one look what I*

*would conservatively estimate to be hundreds of thousands of meerkats. (Pi: 258)*

where *meerkats* were not mentioned in the preceding context, while with regard to the context, it is justifiable to consider the that-clause a presupposition (*something impressed on my mind*).

The issue of sentences displaying what might be termed the intersection of the two basic dynamic scales has been touched upon in section 3.3.3. in relation to preverbal rhematic subjects. Conversely, it is possible to find these in the examples with it-clefts; sentences whose meaning would not change significantly if the it-cleft was removed. As was demonstrated in the mentioned discussion, these have a context-independent subject following by a verb that neither explicitly nor implicitly denotes appearance and is context dependent. The structure has to be fairly simple so that the interpretation of information structure (based solely on context) is unequivocal. These structures are in the analysis classified as problematic.

Of the 11 instances of context-independent subjects I excluded those sentences that were not disconnected from the context, namely (82) and (83) and also sentences with any, even little complexity in the that-clause, for example (84) or the example with *my friend Edward*, (23). I believe that these could occur in the non-clefted form only in speech, where prosodic prominence would provide an additional clue. I excluded two examples with an interrogative pronoun as subject as well, since in those the it-cleft serves another function; to mark the that-clause as given (viz 4.2.1.1.). Next, we can eliminate the cases with context-independent verb and the one instance based on a Pr-scale (see above). What we have left is 4 sentences, namely:

(85) *It was not the ceaseless motion of the sea that disturbed me, nor the wind; you get used to those the way you get used to lumps in a mattress. It was apprehension and anxiety that roused me.* (Pi: 193)

(86) *I can live with the name-calling. It's the men with the heavy weaponry who worry me.* (Gr: 14)

(87) *As usual it was the city that woke Spenta with its shrugging, careless noise of shouts and engines and bicycle bells. But in spite of all this noise, it was a silence that dragged Spenta upright, a silence where there should have been sound.* (Gr: 195)

(88) *Apollo grabbed the Bunder, but it was Dionysus who really made his mark.* (Gr: 61)

The most probable candidate for a construction with preverbal subject is (85), considering its obviously context-independent subject and context-dependent verb. In this respect, (86) is likely to pass the test as well, although the relationship between *be able to live with* and *worry* is not as straightforward as the link between both verbs in (85) and the CD of the noun phrase is not ideally high due to the definite article (though it is a cataphoric one and therefore has no or very little influence on CD). Example (87) fulfils the conditions as well. In (88), the context-dependence issues are more problematic.

Nevertheless, what makes all these examples unlikely to appear in a sentence with regular word order is the textual role expressed by the it-cleft: contrast. While it is true that the contrastive effect would not completely disappear in a regular word order, it would certainly be weaker. As a bonus, the it-cleft makes the information structure more explicit. In this respect, the it-cleft is a better choice, although there might indeed be cases where an emphasis on the textual role is not desirable; then the regular word order would be preferable.

The following table shows the distribution of dynamic semantic scales:

**Table 12 – dynamic semantic scales in it-clefts**

dynamic semantic scale	percent
Q-Scale	95%
Pr-Scale	1%
problematic	4%

#### 4.2.3. Realization form

It is to be expected that the realization form in it-clefts with focused subject is less restricted than in the other construction analyzed, because the cleft construction focuses the subject more explicitly. This proved to be true; while the percentage of noun phrases is lower, there are significantly more proper names and pronouns.

**Table 13 – realization form in it-clefts**

realization form	percent
noun phrase	67%
pronouns	15%
proper names	18%

This is enabled by the fact that an element focused by an it-cleft does not have to be visibly context-independent, as opposed to a preverbal rhematic subject. In fact, the subjects in this latter construction are predominantly context-dependent, functioning in the underlying structure as the Bearer of Quality of the Q-Scale.

Of the total 67 noun phrases, 46 (68.7%) of the 67 are homogenous and 21 (31.3%) are heterogenous. Again, this shows a greater diversity of the realization form in comparison with preverbal rhematic subjects. It is interesting to compare two of the structures with heterogenous subjects of a similar type, one preverbal and the other focused by it-cleft:

(89) *Next to the kettle my mobile was bleeping to show a text had arrived.* (Be: 156)

(90) *I became loyal to these sense impressions even before I knew what they meant or what they were for. It is my heart that commands me so.* (Pi: 46)

The main difference lies in the semantics of the verb. *Bleep* denotes an action inherent to a mobile phone, which allows it the subject to assume the role of the rheme. On the other hand, *command* is not in any particular way affiliated with *heart*, thus it does not perspectivize the communication towards the subject. Furthermore, example (89) displays the typical Pr-Scale pattern, with a spatial setting.

The second most frequent realization form is a proper name. First, it is because proper names are usually context-dependent and therefore unlikely to assume the role of a preverbal rhematic subject (save exceptions; see example (41) in 4.1.2). Second, in fiction they denote characters and as is mentioned in (Dušková 2010b: 43), characters alternate in a plot and the need arises to identify, select or contrast them, which can be conveniently done using a cleft construction. In 2 cases, the proper name is modified by an apposition, as in:

(91) *It was Mali, the Floating Gardener, striding along beside him, walking on the water, who replied in flowery voice through fleshy lilac lips.* (Har: 120)

Pronouns are the least represented category, but by no means rare. The majority of them are personal pronouns (13 out of 15, i.e. 86.7%) and the remaining 2 instances (13.3%) belong to the category of interrogative pronouns. Since personal pronouns are innately context-dependent, they are unlikely to appear in a Pr-Scale in the role of the Ph. In addition, similarly to proper names, they are often selected, contrasted and identified. One subject realized by a personal pronoun contains a focalizer, one is modified by an apposition and one by a reflexive pronoun:

(92) *I thought this whole thing was your idea anyhow. It was even you who said we shouldn't tell him about us.* (Gr: 540)

(93) *Great Nicéphore, I doff my beret. If Daguerre – like the Titan Epimetheus – was the one who opened this Pandoran box, unleashing the ceaseless click and snap, the interminable flash and sprocket of photography, still it was you, great Anarch!, who stole the gods' gift of permanent vision, of the transformation of sight into memory, of the actual into the eternal – that is, the gift of immortality – and bestowed it upon mankind.* (Gr: 210)

(94) *"My holdall!" yelled a mud-woman. "Crazy buffalo! Looney tune! Desist from your speeding, or my possessions will be thrown to Kingdom Come!" "It is we ourselves who will be thrown, madam," a mud-man answered sharply.* (Har: 36)

## 5. Results and comparison

It appears that each of the constructions has its own specialized functions and their use only rarely overlaps, although both are capable of presenting a rhematic subject. Generally, it can be concluded that the construction with a preverbal rhematic subject rather strictly requires the individual constituents to comply with certain criteria, as opposed to the more benevolent it-cleft. The reason is that it operates against the general principle of linearity and therefore the remaining factors must cooperate to clearly indicate the information structure, especially in written language, where the factor of intonation is virtually absent.

Another general point is that the preverbal subject sentences are closely bound to the Presentation Scale and its subtypes, as opposed to it-clefts, where the Pr-Scale is extremely infrequent. Both constructions may be used in the rare instances where the underlying structure has features of both Q-Scale and Pr-Scale: context independent subject and context-dependent verb.

A feature that most distinctly distinguishes the cleft construction from sentences with regular word order is the presence of textual functions in the former. The it-cleft seems to be a particularly well suited construction for expressing contrast. On the other hand, textual roles which organize information in longer stretches of the text are not frequent, probably because my corpus consists solely of material extracted from fiction.

In the following subchapters I elaborate on the specific problems that have been analyzed and summarize the outcomes including the answer to the central question whether the constructions are under some circumstances interchangeable or whether they are completely exclusive.

### 5.1. Realization form

The differences in realization form are a consequence of the necessity of cooperation of FSP factors in sentences with a rhematic subject in the preverbal position; hence the strong tendency towards a context-independent, preferably homogenous noun phrase. 2 of the 3 instances of pronouns functioning as subjects were classified as “problematic” in the category of dynamic semantic scales. It appears that a proper name in a Pr-scale requires an explicit verb of appearance, both because it is by its nature definite and because a semantic affinity with the verb is extremely improbable, if not impossible. The situation might be different in passive Presentation Scale sentences, where other semantic profiles of a verb are more frequent, but my corpus does not include any such example.



In the sentences with the it-cleft, the subjects display greater diversity in all aspects: pronouns are more frequent (15% vs. 3%) and so are proper names (18% vs. 1%). The subjects of it-clefts realized by noun phrases are more often heterogeneous (31.3% vs. 4.7%).

## 5.2. Dynamic semantic scales

The expectation that the constructions strongly favour the opposite dynamic semantic scales proved to be justified. Given the definition of both scales, it was obvious that the first subcorpus of sentences with preverbal rhematic subjects cannot contain examples of Q-Scale proper. What was however less obvious was whether Pr-Scales can (or, more precisely, does) transform into an it-cleft. While this is certainly possible, only one such example has been found and in addition, the it-cleft only emphasizes the textual role of contrast that is present in the sentence. Therefore, it can be concluded that regular Pr-Scales with both explicit and implicit verbs of appearance do not need to focus the subject; the cooperation of FSP factors invariably seems to be sufficient for a correct interpretation.

One of the most significant outcomes of the thesis is the discovery of a structure which can employ both constructions in question. Logically, it has features of both scales (but does not correspond to Firbas's Combined Scale, which is actually closer to Q-Scale<sup>3</sup>). This issue is treated in more detail in the following subchapter.

## 5.3. Use of the constructions

One of the main goals of the thesis was to find out whether the two constructions are strictly exclusive or whether their use overlaps. The analysis has shown that the intersection is limited to sentences located exactly between the two basic dynamic semantic scales. These are composed of a context-independent subject and a context-dependent verb that does not, explicitly or implicitly, express appearance on the scene; the interpretation is thus based only on the context. Examples fulfilling these criteria are rather rare; what is, though, more problematic is that there are other factors influencing the choice of the construction.

First, it needs to be emphasized that the analysis is concerned with written language. Therefore it is questionable whether examples from dialogues can be considered valid; the authors are probably aware of the fact that it-clefts are less frequent in speech (whether consciously or not) and may therefore use a structure more convenient in speech, despite the fact that the dialogue is still written text.

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<sup>3</sup> Chamonikolasová and Adam divide the Combined Scale into two categories: Combined Quality Scale and Combined Presentation Scale. They renamed the former as Extended Presentation Scale and classified the latter as a pure Q-Scale (Chamonikolasová and Adam 2005: 61-62).

The second major influence on the choice is the possible textual role of a sentence. The analysis shows that sentences expressing a textual role seem to strongly prefer the it-cleft, even when a regular word order would have a similar, though weaker, overall effect.

This brings us to the question whether the above described structure oscillating between the Pr-Scale and the Q-Scale might as a rule inherently possess a textual function. From the semantic point of view, it expresses a known action whose agent is the focus of the communication. That is, the reader/listener knows someone has done something, and the emphasis is on who did it. Since there have to be more possible agents, it logically follows that there is always some selection or contrast involved. It might be argued that the same is inherently expressed by all the examples, e.g.:

- (95) *The note, the scale, the chord; melodies, harmonies, arrangements; symphonies, ragas, Chinese operas, jazz, the blues: that such things should exist, that we should have discovered the magical intervals and distances that yield the poor cluster of notes, all within the span of a human hand, from which we can build our cathedrals of sound, is as alchemical a mystery as mathematics, or wine, or love. Maybe the birds taught us.* (Gr: 19)
- (96) *"I certainly don't," Haroun retorted. "And anyway, even if you do turn off your Story Water, my father will still be able to tell stories. "Anybody can tell stories," Iff replied.* (Har: 58)

The contrast in the latter case is rather clear, in the former, it is very implicit: from the context, it can be inferred that the improbable knowledge of music comes from a source. Then one of the possible sources is named, in other words, selected.

If this assumption is correct, the sentences located at the intersection of the two basic scales should theoretically prefer the it-cleft construction to strengthen the textual role.

Nevertheless, it is possible that in some cases the textual role is only implicit and not important in the communication, as in (95); then the use of a regular sentence with preverbal rhematic subject is more convenient.

The analysis has shown a greater influence of certain factors than was expected; namely textual roles and dynamic semantic scales proved to be crucial. On the contrary, there were no surprising results in the analysis of realization forms or setting.

To conclude, it can be stated that even though there is always a difference in meaning, however small, when different structures are used, the it-cleft with a focused subject and the

structure with rhematic subject in preverbal position do overlap at a certain point. The question remains to what degree we can neglect these subtle differences as insignificant and at which point it can be claimed that one of the constructions is more suitable for a certain meaning.

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## Résumé

### Úvod

Úvodní část popisuje cíle a strukturu práce a také nastiňuje některé problémy a omezení provedené analýzy, zejména její poměrně malou obecnou reprezentativnost vzhledem k povaze použitých pramenů a k individuálním odlišnostem ve stylu jednotlivých autorů.

### Teoretická část

Teoretická část stručně rozebírá vznik konceptu aktuálního členění větného, především pak v tehdejší Československu, za nímž stála jedna z nejvýznamnějších postav Pražské školy, Vilém Mathesius. Už Mathesius zavedl pojmy téma a réma, přestože se jeho pojetí aktuálního členění od dnešního lišilo tím, že jako jeho prostředek považoval téměř výhradně slovosled. Ze členů Pražské školy teorii dále rozvinul zejména František Daneš, který ji vztahoval k rovině textové.

Pravděpodobně nejvýznamnějším dílem, které položilo základ současnému chápání aktuálního členění, je souhrnná monografie Jana Firbase *Functional Sentence Perspective in Written and Spoken Communication*, v níž autor definuje většinu klíčových pojmů používaných v této diplomové práci. Tyto koncepty jsou v teoretické části stručně vysvětleny. Následuje krátký popis zkoumaných konstrukcí ze syntaktického a aktuálněčlenského hlediska; jejich zásadním společným rysem je fakt, že v obou je rématem podmět (přestože ve vytýkací konstrukci nemusí být rématem celé věty).

Poté se práce podrobněji věnuje Firbasovým dynamickým sémantickým škálám, jež dále zkoumají Firbasovi následovníci, zejména Adam, Chamonikolasová a Svoboda. Adam a Chamonikolasová upravili Firbasův pojem kombinované škály, který rozdělili na případy kvalifikační škály a tzv. rozšířené prezentační škály, kde je nejdynamičtější prvkem specifikace prezentovaného jevu. Tyto pojmy jsou vymezeny pro potřebu analýzy.

Dále jsou představeny a popsány čtyři aktuálněčlenské faktory: linearita, kontext, sémantika a intonace (v psaném projevu sice inherentně nepřítomná, přesto se její vliv může projevovat například v dialogích nebo může být její funkce suplována použitím kurzívy apod.)

### Metodologie

Kapitola Metodologie nejprve popisuje postup při získávání dokladů; všechny byly extrahovány ze současné anglicky psané prózy, příkladů s vytýkací konstrukcí bylo výrazně méně, protože muselo být použito více děl. V některých příkladech je také zahrnut širší kontext nezbytný ke správné interpretaci.

V následující části jsou dvě tabulky přehledně zobrazující, které parametry byly u každé konstrukce zkoumány a jaké hodnoty byly nalezeny. Konstrukce s rématickým preverbálním podmětem byla analyzována z více ohledů; důvodem je potřebná souhra více aktuálněčlenských faktorů, která musí převážet nad linearitou, tedy vlivem slovosledu. U vytýkácí konstrukce zase hraje důležitou úlohu textová funkce, která u vět s regulérním slovosledem a rématickým podmětem v naprosté většině případů chybí.

Podkapitola 3.3 představuje prvky, které působily v analýze problému. Zprv jde o kontextovou závislost, která je klíčová při určování jednotlivých dynamických sémantických rolí, škál i typů vytýkácí konstrukce. Firbas stanovuje délku textu, po které se již čtenář vnímá dříve zmíněný prvek jako novou informaci, na sedm vět. Nejedná se ovšem o fenomén polární povahy a mnohokrát nelze exaktně určit, zda je prvek kontextově zapojený nebo ne. Prvním z problémů je, jak naložit se slovy nebo frázemi, které se sice neobjevily v bezprostředním kontextu, nicméně se dá předpokládat, že pro čtenáře nepředstavují novou informaci; jedná se především o jména literárních postav. Tyto jsou v analýze považovány za kontextově zapojené. Existují i případy, kdy se daný prvek objevuje po více než sedmi větách, ovšem jeví se jako zapojený – zde lze argumentovat tím, že závisí i na povaze vět mezi dvěma výskyty prvku; pokud jsou spíše kratší a obsahují málo nových informací, může jich být i více než sedm.

Následující sekce se zabývá potencialitou v oblasti aktuálního členění, která může mít několik příčin, jmenovitě neurčitou sémantiku slovesa, škálový charakter kontextové závislosti a heterogenní povahu prvku. Problém kontextové závislosti je rozebrán již v předchozím oddílu. V případě prvního zmíněného problému může být věta dvouznačná, co se týče dynamické sémantické škály, a v třetím případě nastává opět problém s kontextovou závislostí a následným přiřazením dynamické sémantické role. Další problematickou strukturou je konstrukce nevyhovující kritériím ani jedné ze základních dynamických sémantických škál či některému jejich poddruhu: kontextově nezapojený podmět následovaný kontextově zapojeným slovesem.

Další oddíl pojednává o tématu souvisejícím s výše zmíněnými problémy – příslušností vět k dynamickým sémantickým škálám. Nejednoznačné je zejména zařazování vět, jejichž sloveso nevyjadřuje explicitně ani implicitně objevení na scéně, k prezentační škále. Jedná se o již zmiňovaný typ konstrukcí s kontextově nezapojeným podmětem a slovesem, které ovšem nevykazuje sémantickou blízkost k podmětu ani jiné rysy charakteristické pro sloveso prezentace a často je i zapojené do kontextu.



## Praktická část

### Konstrukce s preverbálním rématickým podmětem

Prvním parametrem, který analýza u této konstrukce zkoumá, je dynamická sémantická škála. Příklady jsou roztrženy do pěti typů: vlastní prezentační škály, rozšířené prezentační škály, speciální prezentační škály, dvojznačných a problematických případů. První tři případy jsou vysvětleny a vymezeny v sekci 2.2.1. Dvojznačnost vzniká vlivem faktorů popsaných v oddíle o potenciálnosti; věta pak může být klasifikována jako prezentační i kvalifikační škála. Naproti tomu u případů, kde je škála označena jako problematická, není o interpretaci pochyb, ovšem informační struktura neodpovídá ani jedné ze škál, resp. podobá se jejich kombinaci. Jedná se o již popsané konstrukce s nezapojeným podmětem a zapojeným slovesem, které neindikuje explicitně ani implicitně objevení na scéně.

Dalším zkoumaným rysem je realizační forma podmětu. Obecně vzato, prezentační škála, kterou ztělesňuje naprostá většina případů s preverbálním rématickým podmětem, vyžaduje na pozici podmětu prvek kontextově nezapojený a pokud možno i homogenní (z hlediska zapojenosti). Z analýzy vyplývá, že nejčastěji je podmět realizován substantivní frází, zřídka zájmenem, jednou se vyskytuje vlastní jméno a jednou vztažná věta.

Následující oddíl se zabývá sémantikou slovesa v prezentační škále, tématem, jemuž je v poslední době věnována značná pozornost. Tato slovesa se dají rozdělit na dvě skupiny: na slovesa označující objevení se na scéně explicitně a implicitně. První kategorie se dále dělí na slovesa vlastního objevení a slovesa pohybu, která fungují obdobně. Slovesa implicitního objevení na scéně (zejména v činném rodě) se vyznačují sémantickou blízkostí k podmětu, čímž je jejich význam oslaben a rématem se tak může stát právě podmět. Adam (2011b) je rozděluje do několika typických sémantických okruhů, z nichž se všechny vyskytly i ve zkoumaném materiálu. Poněkud jiná je situace u sloves v trpném rodě, kdy není nutná sémantická blízkost a převažují tzv. *verba efficiendi*.

Mezi zkoumané parametry patřila i tranzitivita slovesa. Přestože slovesa objevení na scéně logicky tíhnou k intranzitivitě, zejména mezi těmi implicitními se relativně často objevují i slovesa tranzitivní. Více než polovina z nich je v trpném rodě, častý je také případ, kdy funguje předmět podobně jako příslovečné určení místa nebo času. Lze tedy říci, že předmět je v prezentačních škálách omezen jen na některé sémantické role.

Další oddíl se věnuje scéně, prvku, jenž je v prezentační škále fakultativní. Z výše uvedeného vyplývá, že kromě příslovečného určení může mít i podobu předmětu. Nejfrekventovanější je

určení místa. Na jednom příkladu je demonstrováno, že scéna může posilovat interpretaci věty jako prezentační škály, zejména pokud je podmět heterogenní.

#### Vytýkácí konstrukce

Vytýkácí konstrukce lze dělit na dva základní typy podle kontextové zapojenosti vedlejší věty (Prince 1978). Pokud tato obsahuje již známou informaci, jedná se o tzv. *stressed focus it-cleft*, kdy je rématem v celé větě vytčený podmět. V opačném případě, tedy pokud se ve vedlejší větě prezentuje nová informace (vytčen podmět bývá krátký a anaforický), se konstrukce označuje jako *information-presupposition it-cleft* a rématem je právě vedlejší věta.

V analyzovaných příkladech převládá první typ. Vzhledem k tomu, že podmět je většinou kontextově zapojený, rématem se stává většinou proto, že je vypojen z kontextu prostřednictvím některé textové funkce.

Mezi tyto funkce patří kontrast, selekce, identifikace a uvedení tématu (poslední jmenovaná se týká delších úseků textu v řádu odstavců); kromě těchto existují ještě další funkce, které ovšem nebyly v dokladech zaznamenány. Typ *information-presupposition* má také tu funkci, že označuje obsah vedlejší věty jako známou informaci, přestože pro čtenáře/posluchače je nová. To mluvčímu/pisateli umožňuje se od sdělení určitým způsobem distancovat. Zdaleka nejčastěji se vyskytuje kontrast, následovaný identifikací a selekcí. Tyto funkce jsou častější v próze, naproti tomu v odborném textu bývají frekventovanější textové funkce, které organizují informační strukturu odstavce.

Následující oddíl se věnuje problematice dynamických sémantických škál a kontextové závislosti podmětu. Jelikož je většina podmětů kontextově zapojených a ani zbytek klauze nevykazuje znaky typické pro prezentační škálu, lze říci, že podkladová struktura vytýkácí konstrukce téměř vždy implementuje kvalifikační škálu. V dokladech pro analýzu byla nalezena pouze jedna výjimka – prezentační škála. Tato věta ovšem vyjadřuje kontrast, vytčení tedy slouží pouze ke zdůraznění této textové funkce, jiný význam nemá. Vyskytuje se několik vět, kdy je podmět kontextově nezapojený; zde se většinou jedná o výše zmíněné funkce označení obsahu vedlejší věty jako dané informace nebo o uvedení tématu. Lze identifikovat i několik vět, jejichž podkladová struktura odpovídá typu problematické škály u vět s preverbálním rématickým podmětem. Ty by bylo možno vyjádřit i touto konstrukcí s pravidelným slovosledem; ovšem ukazuje se, že dotyčné příklady vyjadřují některou textovou funkci, již lépe zdůrazní právě vytýkácí konstrukce. Nelze tedy jednoznačně říci, že jsou právě v těchto případech konstrukce zaměnitelné beze změny významu.

Praktickou část zakončuje oddíl rozebírající realizační formu podmětu u vytýkacích konstrukcí. Analýza ukazuje, že podmět ve vytýkací konstrukci podle očekávání vykazuje větší variabilitu než u konstrukce s pravidelným slovosledem; je zde výrazně vyšší procento heterogenních substantivních frází, vlastních jmen i zájmen.

### *Výsledky a srovnání obou konstrukcí*

Obecně lze konstatovat, že konstrukce s rématickým podmětem v regulérním postavení vyžaduje poměrně přesnou souhru několika faktorů; mimo jiné to znamená, že pokud má některý prvek některé méně typické rysy, zbylé části musí být jednoznačné. Naproti tomu vytýkací konstrukce neklade na jednotlivé prvky zdaleka takové nároky, protože informační struktura je jasně určená samotným vytčením. Zásadním rysem vytýkací konstrukce jsou textové funkce, které druhá konstrukce obvykle nevyjadřuje.

Co se týče zaměnitelnosti konstrukcí, nastává (až na velmi vzácné výjimky, např. již zmiňovanou prezentační škálu s vytčeným podmětem) pouze v situaci, když je podkladovou strukturou jakási hybridní struktura vykazující rysy obou škál (nezapojený podmět, zapojené neprezentační sloveso). Navíc i taková struktura pravděpodobně tíhne spíše k vytýkací konstrukci, má-li nějakou textovou funkci. Je možné, že tato struktura obsahuje textovou funkci inherentně, vzhledem k jejímu sémantickému profilu (neznámý agent a známá činnost mohou implikovat kontrast nebo selekci). Nicméně může jistě nastat i opačná situace, tedy že případná textová funkce není v popředí, a tedy je lepší volbou regulérní slovosled s rématickým podmětem. Obě struktury tedy za určitých podmínek zaměnitelné jsou, otázkou ale zůstává, nakolik lze při záměně považovat změnu významu za zanedbatelnou.

## Appendix

sentence – preverbal rhematic subjects	source	setting	semantics of the verb	verbal voice	verbal transitivity	dynamic semantic scale	realization form of the subject
1. Once <u>a swallow's nest fell</u> from the eaves of the house (20)	Be Near Me	spatial, temporal	appearance - movement	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
2. The river now goes to sea, but when St Ker first arrived there in 682 AD, the river went in the opposite direction, flowing through Ayrshire's bracken woods towards the lowlands of Lanarkshire, where the tributaries of several Scottish rivers gather in green, heathery lochs, and where <u>home-remembering salmon and handmade arrowheads can still be seen glinting in the shallows</u> . (25)	Be Near Me	spatial	sensory perception	passive	transitive	Extended Presentation	NP - homogenous
3. <u>An empty explosives factory marks the skyline of Dalgarnock</u> , but the better part of the town seems to be given over to black and white council houses with windows the size of bibles. (25)	Be Near Me	spatial - object	other implicit appearance	active	transitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
4. There is no one else to whom I can address these remarks. <u>You are the man in charge</u> . (33)	Be Near Me	none	copula	active	copula	problematic	personal pronoun

sentence – preverbal rhematic subjects	source	setting	semantics of the verb	verbal voice	verbal transitivity	dynamic semantic scale	realization form of the subject
5. <u>What can only be described as a look of utter hatred suddenly crossed the good man's eyes.</u> (34)	Be Near Me	spatial - object	facial/bodily expressions	active	transitive	Presentation	nominal relative clause
6. <u>The small energies of disdain could be observed</u> in all this, and the classroom fairly jingled with the sound of forbidden rings and bracelets. (38)	Be Near Me	spatial	sensory perception	passive	transitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
7. <u>Old political notions tugged at me</u> , 1960s notions, but I thought there was something in what Mark was trying to say. (41)	Be Near Me	spatial	sensory actions and personified inanimate object	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
8. <u>A smell of pine came</u> from the corridors. (45)	Be Near Me	spatial	appearance - movement	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
9. Above the clock tower <u>a dozen swallows were tumbling and circling the peaks</u> , and my eyes fell from the birds to the young couple kissing in the courtyard.	Be Near Me	spatial - object	inherent actions of fauna and flora	active	intransitive, transitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
10. And just then, at the open window, <u>a hand touched my shoulder</u> and I reached up for it without turning, and I knew he was speaking Shakespeare through a smile, as he often did in that summer of love. (53)	Be Near Me	spatial, spatial - object, temporal	inherent qualities/actions of inanimate objects	active	transitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous

sentence – preverbal rhematic subjects	source	setting	semantics of the verb	verbal voice	verbal transitivity	dynamic semantic scale	realization form of the subject
11. <u>The faces of small children appeared</u> ; they had different haircuts, the children, but the same eyes, and their voices rose in anticipation of a challenge and an opportunity. (55)	Be Near Me	none	appearance proper	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
12. <u>A group of boys came up</u> holding pints. (59)	Be Near Me	none	appearance - movement	active	intransitive	Extended Presentation	NP - homogenous
13. <u>A strange smile</u> – same as Mark’s, now that I think of it – <u>appeared</u> between the mounds of his cheeks and he lit a cigarette. (84)	Be Near Me	spatial	appearance proper	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
14. Apparently, <u>two stone coffins were found</u> in there several years ago. (90)	Be Near Me	spatial, temporal	other implicit appearance	passive	transitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
15. <u>Frost glittered on the windowpane</u> ; I worried about a teddy bear’s ears taking in the cold and took him down from the ledge. (94)	Be Near Me	spatial	inherent qualities/actions of inanimate objects	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
16. <u>A copy of catechism sat</u> next to me on the wooden bench. (95)	Be Near Me	spatial	existence	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous

sentence – preverbal rhematic subjects	source	setting	semantics of the verb	verbal voice	verbal transitivity	dynamic semantic scale	realization form of the subject
17. I wrote letters and my mother wrote letters; it came to seem to me a production out of Genesis, and <u>a truck was hired</u> , special feed was arranged, permissions were sought and hastily denied and then warily granted. (103)	Be Near Me	none	other implicit appearance	passive	transitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
18. I wrote letters and my mother wrote letters; it came to seem to me a production out of Genesis, and a truck was hired, <u>special feed was arranged</u> , permissions were sought and hastily denied and then warily granted. (103)	Be Near Me	none	other implicit appearance	passive	transitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
19. I wrote letters and my mother wrote letters; it came to seem to me a production out of Genesis, and a truck was hired, special feed was arranged, <u>permissions were sought</u> and hastily denied and then warily granted. (103)	Be Near Me	none	other implicit appearance	passive	transitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
20. <u>A cider bottle stood</u> by the wall. (124)	Be Near Me	spatial	existence	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
21. <u>A bicycle was mounted</u> haphazardly in one of the booths, and there was a traffic cone on an old snooker table, the pocket burst and the edges of the table stacked with cigarette butts. (125)	Be Near Me	spatial	existence	passive	transitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous

sentence – preverbal rhematic subjects	source	setting	semantics of the verb	verbal voice	verbal transitivity	dynamic semantic scale	realization form of the subject
22. Next to the kettle <u>my mobile was bleeping</u> to show a text had arrived. (156)	Be Near Me	spatial	inherent qualities/actions of inanimate objects	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - heterogeneous
23. <u>Freshness came into the room</u> , and I heard a sudden rush from the trees at the end of the lane, the breeze like an ambush of voices among the leaves. (159)	Be Near Me	spatial	appearance - movement	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
24. Their absence came to mind with the toll of the bells; for me, and such as me, <u>an image of courage and folly and blighted hope</u> hovered somewhere above the spires and <u>cupolas</u> , though I can't be sure they survived the 1960's in the form we knew them. (163)	Be Near Me	spatial	sensory actions and personified inanimate object	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
25. <u>Great snowfalls filled</u> November. (163)	Be Near Me	temporal - object	other implicit appearance	active	transitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
26. <u>Friends emerged</u> over the following year (164)	Be Near Me	temporal	appearance proper	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
27. "Hark," he said one afternoon when <u>a workman stopped</u> at the bar. (168)	Be Near Me	spatial	appearance - movement	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
28. And for a moment <u>a pulse appeared</u> in his pink cheek. (187)	Be Near Me	spatial	appearance proper	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous



sentence – preverbal rhematic subjects	source	setting	semantics of the verb	verbal voice	verbal transitivity	dynamic semantic scale	realization form of the subject
29. <u>A time came</u> in Rome during those seven years when I could walk across the Campo dei Fiori without thinking of Grosvenor Square. (192)	Be Near Me	spatial, temporal	appearance proper	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
30. I think I closed my eyes, then <u>eruptions of panic and weakness and embarrassment filled</u> the moment. (204)	Be Near Me	temporal - object	other implicit appearance	active	transitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
31. <u>Dead flies lay</u> on the windowsill, crisp in the sun. (212)	Be Near Me	spatial	existence	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
32. <u>Other witnesses appeared.</u> (241)	Be Near Me	none	appearance proper	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
33. Mark appeared on the screen looking older. He was wearing a jacket and tie and his hair was combed with a side parting. I saw he had changed in small ways over the summer: he looked that day like a young man about to take on the world, using his hands to articulate the steps of his molestation as if explaining the rules of modern ecoomics. <u>Measures of pride and reason had embedded themselves in Mark's speech</u> ; he knew who he wanted to be and his charisma has quietened into a display of refreshing plausibility. (250)	Be Near Me	spatial	appearance - movement	active	reflexive	ambiguous	NP - homogenous

sentence – preverbal rhematic subjects	source	setting	semantics of the verb	verbal voice	verbal transitivity	dynamic semantic scale	realization form of the subject
34. <u>A goods train came</u> and he watched its iron trucks go by, until there was only the cloud of his breath and the small red lights at the back of the train, the lights getting smaller and then flaring just once as it vanished into the trees. (278)	Be Near Me	none	appearance - movement	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
35. <u>Black smoke poured</u> out of the chimneys of the sadness factories and hung over the city like bad news (15)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	spatial	appearance - movement	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
36. Meanwhile, in the courtyard of the buses, <u>small dust-clouds were rushing back and forth like little desert whirlwinds</u> . (32)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	spatial, temporal	appearance - movement	active	intransitive	special Presentation	NP - homogenous
37. Then he'd switch off his engine with an innocent smile; while on the far side of the courtyard, <u>a different bus would start up</u> , and the passengers would start running all over again. (32)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	spatial	inherent qualities/actions of inanimate objects	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - heterogeneous

sentence – preverbal rhematic subjects	source	setting	semantics of the verb	verbal voice	verbal transitivity	dynamic semantic scale	realization form of the subject
38. “Correct,” <u>a booming voice behind him answered</u> , “but but but you’ll admit it’s too much fun to watch.” (32)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	spatial	inherent qualities/actions of inanimate objects	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
39. Haroun observed that in each village <u>a man carrying a large mailbag would be waiting</u> by the bus stop in the village square, and that this man would look at first confused and then furious as the Mail Coach roared by him without even slowing down. (35)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	spatial	existence	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
40. Just then <u>a thick cloud, shot through with impossible, shifting colours, a cloud from a dream or a nightmare, hopped up</u> from the gorge below them and plopped itself down on the road. (38)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	spatial	appearance - movement	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
41. “ <u>A legend comes to town.</u> ” (41)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	spatial	appearance - movement	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous

sentence – preverbal rhematic subjects	source	setting	semantics of the verb	verbal voice	verbal transitivity	dynamic semantic scale	realization form of the subject
42. No sooner had Buttoo uttered these words than <u>a harsh, hot wind blew across the Lake.</u> (47)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	spatial	natural and supernatural phenomena	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
43. In the Moody Land, the sun would shine all night if there were enough joyful people around, and it would go on shining until the endless sunshine got on their nerves; then <u>an irritable night would fall</u> , a night full of muttering and discontent, in which the air felt too thick to breathe. (48)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	temporal	natural and supernatural phenomena	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
44. <u>A new tone of authority had come into his voice</u> , which surprised him as much as anyone, and as a result the oarsmen and Buttoo, too, obeyed him without a murmur. (49)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	spatial	appearance proper	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
45. <u>Light blazed out through the windows</u> , so that the fantastic monsters were visible from some distance, and seemed to be glowing in the dark. (51)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	spatial	sensory actions and personified inanimate object	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous

sentence – preverbal rhematic subjects	source	setting	semantics of the verb	verbal voice	verbal transitivity	dynamic semantic scale	realization form of the subject
46. "I certainly don't," Haroun retorted. "And anyway, even if you do turn off your Story Water, my father will still be able to tell stories. <u>"Anybody can tell stories,"</u> Iff replied. (58)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	none	other	active	transitive	problematic	indefinite pronoun
47. "That may be true where you come from," Haroun argued. "But in these parts <u>stricter rules apply.</u> " (63)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	spatial	inherent qualities/actions of inanimate objects	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - heterogeneous
48. <u>Tiny birds were walking about on the Water Genie's palm;</u> and pecking at it, and flapping their miniature wings to hover just above it. (64)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	spatial	inherent actions of fauna and flora	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
49. <u>Cheering-up procedures to be instituted at once.</u> (71)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	temporal	verba efficiendi	passive	transitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous

sentence – preverbal rhematic subjects	source	setting	semantics of the verb	verbal voice	verbal transitivity	dynamic semantic scale	realization form of the subject
50. When <u>new limbs began to push themselves out from his sides</u> , he understood that he was somehow turning into a monster just like those he had been killing; and above him the princess caught at her throat and cried out in a faint voice: “Eek, my dearest, you have into a large spider turned.” (74)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	spatial	appearance - movement	active	reflexive	Presentation	NP - heterogeneous
51. Far away on the horizon, <u>forked lightning glittered</u> , once. (75)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	spatial	natural and supernatural phenomena	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
52. “ <u>Something most serious has occurred</u> .” Iff comented. (81)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	none	appearance proper	active	intransitive	Presentation	indefinite pronoun
53. Iff replied that the Plentimaw Fishes were what he called “hunger artists” – “Because when they are hungry they swallow stories through every mouth, and <u>in their innards miracles occur</u> ; a little bit of one story joins on to an idea from another, and hey presto, when they spew the stories out they are not old tales but new ones. (86)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	spatial	appearance proper	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous

sentence – preverbal rhematic subjects	source	setting	semantics of the verb	verbal voice	verbal transitivity	dynamic semantic scale	realization form of the subject
54. “I was struggling through the tangles of thorn-bushes towards the Ocean’s rim,” Rashid continued, “ <u>when a swan-boat of silver and gold approached.</u> ” (102)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	none	appearance - movement	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
55. <u>A hush fell over the Throne Room.</u> (105)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	spatial	sensory actions and personified inanimate object	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
56. And so, after Blabbermouth had pushed the button hidden in an elaborately carved wooden panel on one of the alcove’s curved walls, and after they had climbed the staircase that came into view when the panel slid away, Haroun sat on the flat roof of the palace in what was of course still dazzling sunshine, and gazed out at the view of the Land of Gup, and of the Pleasure Garden <u>in which preparations for war were being made,</u> and of the Lagoon in which a great flotilla of mechanical birds was assembling, and out across the endangered Ocean of the Streams of Story. (108)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	none	verba efficiendi	passive	transitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous

sentence – preverbal rhematic subjects	source	setting	semantics of the verb	verbal voice	verbal transitivity	dynamic semantic scale	realization form of the subject
57. And so, after Blabbermouth had pushed the button hidden in an elaborately carved wooden panel on one of the alcove's curved walls, and after they had climbed the staircase that came into view when the panel slid away, Haroun sat on the flat roof of the palace in what was of course still dazzling sunshine, and gazed out at the view of the Land of Gup, and of the Pleasure Garden in which preparations for war were being made, and of the Lagoon <u>in which a great flotilla of mechanical birds was assembling</u> , and out across the endangered Ocean of the Streams of Story. (108)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	none	verba efficiendi	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
58. <u>No wind blew</u> . (122)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	none	natural and supernatural phenomena	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
59. <u>No voice spoke</u> . (122)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	none	inherent qualities/actions of inanimate objects	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous



sentence – preverbal rhematic subjects	source	setting	semantics of the verb	verbal voice	verbal transitivity	dynamic semantic scale	realization form of the subject
60. <u>A beachhead was established, and tents had been raised</u> to make the first Guppee camp. (123)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	none	verba efficiendi	passive	transitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
61. “Storyteller,” cried Bolo in his most swashbuckling manner, “now is the hour when you must lead us to the Chupwala tents. <u>Great matters are afoot!</u> (123)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	none	existence	active	copula	Presentation	NP - homogenous
62. <u>A silence fell</u> , as General Kitab and Prince Bolo mulled over everything that Mudra and his Shadow had “said”. (134)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	temporal	sensory actions and personified inanimate object	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
63. <u>An immense stubbornness came over Prince Bolo of Gup.</u> (136)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	spatial	sensory actions and personified inanimate object	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
64. Haroun had wanted to take Blabbermouth, <u>but a shyness overcame him</u> , and besides, she seemed to want to stay with Mudra the Shadow Warrior. (139)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	none	sensory actions and personified inanimate object	active	transitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous

sentence – preverbal rhematic subjects	source	setting	semantics of the verb	verbal voice	verbal transitivity	dynamic semantic scale	realization form of the subject
65. <u>A cold, clammy feeling rose up from the water</u> , which was near freezing point, “as cold as death”, Haroun found himself thinking. (146)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	spatial	sensory actions and personified inanimate object	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
66. <u>Gangways with railings slanted down along the side of the Dark Ship</u> . (149)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	spatial	inherent qualities/actions of inanimate objects	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
67. <u>Pipes and ducts led into and out of each of these</u> , and there were ladders up their sides. (151)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	spatial	inherent qualities/actions of inanimate objects	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
68. <u>Small mechanical cranes were positioned by each cauldron</u> , too, with buckets hanging from maliciously sharp-looking hooks. (151)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	spatial	existence	passive	transitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
69. <u>"Stories have warped the boy's brain"</u> , he pronounced solemnly. (156)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	none	other	active	transitive	problematic	NP - homogenous

sentence – preverbal rhematic subjects	source	setting	semantics of the verb	verbal voice	verbal transitivity	dynamic semantic scale	realization form of the subject
70. <u>When black ice freezes over its surface</u> , my victory will be complete. (160-161)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	spatial	natural and supernatural phenomena	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
71. Through an open porthole a few paces from the Cultmaster, <u>bizarre rooty tendrils began to enter the Dark Ship</u> . (163)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	spatial - object	appearance - movement	active	transitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
72. <u>A minute had already passed</u> . (165)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	none	sensory actions and personified inanimate object	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
73. As he hit the water, <u>a terrible feeling of hopelessness overcame him</u> . (167)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	temporal	sensory actions and personified inanimate object	active	transitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
74. <u>Extraordinary things had begun to happen</u> around them. (172)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	spatial	appearance proper	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous

sentence – preverbal rhematic subjects	source	setting	semantics of the verb	verbal voice	verbal transitivity	dynamic semantic scale	realization form of the subject
75. <u>Poison was evaporating from the cauldrons on deck</u> ; the cauldrons themselves were growing flabby and melting like dark butter. (173)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	spatial	inherent qualities/actions of inanimate objects	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
76. <u>Peace broke out</u> . (191)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	none	appearance proper	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
77. <u>“A great victory has been won,”</u> old King Chattergy was saying to the crowd, “a victory for our Ocean over its Enemy, but also a victory for the new Friendship and Openness between Chup and Gup, over our old Hostility and Suspicion.	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	none	verba efficiendi	passive	transitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
78. <u>A dialogue has been opened</u> ; and to celebrate that, as well as the wedding, let all the people sing.” (193)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	none	verba efficiendi	passive	transitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous

sentence – preverbal rhematic subjects	source	setting	semantics of the verb	verbal voice	verbal transitivity	dynamic semantic scale	realization form of the subject
79. <u>A wild party was getting under way in the royal palace</u> , and it took Haroun a few minutes to find the Chief Water Genie in the balloon-popping, rice-throwing, streamer-waving throng. (197)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	spatial	appearance proper	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
80. This was long before <u>the term “single-parent family” came into use</u> ; back then it was “a broken home”, and Adrian was the only person we knew who came from one. (8-9)	The Sense of and Ending	none	appearance proper	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
81. When I came down for breakfast, <u>only Mrs. Ford was around</u> . (28)	The Sense of and Ending	temporal	existence	active	copula	Presentation	NP - homogenous
82. <u>Water fizzed</u> and steam rose at the impact, and she laughed, as if she has enjoyed causing this small havoc. (29)	The Sense of and Ending	temporal	inherent qualities/actions of inanimate objects	active	intransitive	ambiguous	NP - homogenous
83. Water fizzed and <u>steam rose</u> at the impact, and she laughed, as if she has enjoyed causing this small havoc. (29)	The Sense of and Ending	none	inherent qualities/actions of inanimate objects	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous

sentence – preverbal rhematic subjects	source	setting	semantics of the verb	verbal voice	verbal transitivity	dynamic semantic scale	realization form of the subject
84. Then I met Margaret; we married, and three years later <u>Susie was born</u> . (54)	The Sense of and Ending	temporal	appearance proper	passive	intransitive	Presentation	proper name
85. <u>A particular image suddenly came into my mind</u> as I gazed at the backs of what I assumed to be family photographs. (72)	The Sense of and Ending	temporal	appearance - movement	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
86. <u>A week or so passed</u> , and Brother Jack's name was there in my inbox again. (78)	The Sense of and Ending	none	sensory actions and personified inanimate object	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
87. <u>Cracks appeared here and there</u> , bits of the porch and front wall began to crumble. (83)	The Sense of and Ending	spatial	appearance proper	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
88. There were few tourists; <u>a rollerblader rattled past behind us</u> . (90)	The Sense of and Ending	spatial	inherent actions of fauna and flora	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
89. Whose chief characteristic is that nothing can be done about it: <u>too much time has passed</u> , too much damage has been done, for amends to be made. (99)	The Sense of and Ending	none	sensory actions and personified inanimate object	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous

sentence – preverbal rhematic subjects	source	setting	semantics of the verb	verbal voice	verbal transitivity	dynamic semantic scale	realization form of the subject
90. Whose chief characteristic is that nothing can be done about it: too much time has passed, <u>too much damage has been done</u> , for amends to be made. (99)	The Sense of and Ending	none	verba efficiendi	passive	transitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
91. Whose chief characteristic is that nothing can be done about it: too much time has passed, too much damage has been done, <u>for amends to be made</u> . (99)	The Sense of and Ending	none	verba efficiendi	passive	transitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
92. <u>The idea was put about that the mestizo lover had been a devil worshipper, a blood servant of the Underworld, and had given Vina Apsara a priceless but malignant ring, which had caused the subsequent catastrophe and dragged her down to Hell.</u> (6)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	none	appearance proper	passive	transitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
93. [...] Vina has discovered the limitations, musical and verbal, of her own material. [...] but in Buenos Aires, São Paulo, Mexico City and Guadalajara she heard for herself the public's tepid responses to these songs [...] (2 sentences) But <u>roars of acclaim followed each of the old hits from the VTO back catalogue</u> [...] (8)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	none	other implicit appearance	active	transitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous

sentence – preverbal rhematic subjects	source	setting	semantics of the verb	verbal voice	verbal transitivity	dynamic semantic scale	realization form of the subject
94. <u>Fear had begun to ooze from him in globules of rancid sweat.</u> (10)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	spatial	sensory actions and personified inanimate object	active	intransitive	special Presentation	NP - homogenous
95. <u>Insects stung my neck.</u> (17)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	spatial - object	inherent actions of fauna and flora	active	transitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
96. From the sky, <u>a larger insect bore down upon us, burdening us with the insistent downdraft of its raucous wings.</u> (17)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	spatial	inherent actions of fauna and flora	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - heterogeneous
97. The note, the scale, the chord; melodies, harmonies, arrangements; symphonies, ragas, Chinese operas, jazz, the blues: that such things should exist, that we should have discovered the magical intervals and distances that yield the poor cluster of notes, all within the span of a human hand, from which we can build our cathedrals of sound, is as alchemical a mystery as mathematics, or wine, or love. <u>Maybe the birds taught us.</u> (19)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	none	other	active	transitive	problematic	NP - homogenous



sentence – preverbal rhematic subjects	source	setting	semantics of the verb	verbal voice	verbal transitivity	dynamic semantic scale	realization form of the subject
98. <u>Glory bursts upon us in such hours</u> : the dark glory of earthquakes, the slippery wonder of new life, the radiance of Vina's singing. (20)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	temporal	sensory actions and personified inanimate object	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
99. Vina, <u>to whom even strangers would come</u> , following her star, hoping to receive redemption from her voice, her large, damp eyes, her touch. (20)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	none	appearance - movement	active	intransitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous
100. However, <u>no guitar players were included</u> among those invited to coo over the new-born baby at the Sisters of Maria Gratiaplana Nursing Home on Altamount Road [...] (23)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	spatial	existence	passive	transitive	Presentation	NP - homogenous

sentence – it-clefts	source	underlying construction	context-(in)dependence of the subject	realization form of the subject	type according to Prince	textual role
1. [...] I saw Dalgarnock Abbey and the town below [...] [3 sentences] <u>It was the ruined abbey that struck me most.</u> (27)	Be Near Me	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - heterogenous	stressed focus	selection
2. "They're not terrorists," said one of the other boys. [3 sentences] "[...] when people in America and in this country were still running about in the swamps." "Aye," said his friend. <u>"It's Christians that are responsible for most of the world's greatest atrocities."</u> (40)	Be Near Me	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	information-presupposition	contrast
3. <u>"It's not Christians or Jews that go flying planes into people's offices."</u> (40)	Be Near Me	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	information-presupposition	contrast
4. <u>"It's Christians that put people into gas ovens."</u>	Be Near Me	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	information-presupposition	contrast
5. <u>It's Jews that bomb people out of their own houses in Palestine..."</u>	Be Near Me	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	information-presupposition	contrast
6. <u>"It's Americans that burned babies in Vietnam."</u>	Be Near Me	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	information-presupposition	contrast
7. <u>It's Catholics that put bombs into bloody chip shops in Northern Ireland."</u>	Be Near Me	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	information-presupposition	contrast

sentence – it-clefts	source	underlying construction	context-(in)dependence of the subject	realization form of the subject	type according to Prince	textual role
8. <u>“It’s no people from this country that drive planes into people’s offices.</u>	Be Near Me	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	information-presupposition	contrast
9. <u>It’s no people from here that take folk hostage and cut their heads off.</u>	Be Near Me	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	information-presupposition	contrast
10. <u>It’s no Americans that gas their own folk.</u> ” (40)	Be Near Me	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	information-presupposition	contrast
11. "That wasn't in English," said Mark. "You saw it on Fox." [1 sentence] <u>“It was me that told you about it.”</u> (42)	Be Near Me	Q-Scale	dependent	personal pronoun	stressed focus	contrast
12. The school to me was a community not so much of excellence as of total sufficiency. But most of all <u>it is the tone of the monks that remains, for me, an idea of exactitude and sportsmanship and continuity with the medieval world that seeped by hours and by years through the older buildings to change the character of the boys.</u> (100-101)	Be Near Me	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - heterogenous	information-presupposition	identification
13. We are supposed to have had it tough. But I don't think so. <u>It was the world outside that seemed tough to us.</u> (101)	Be Near Me	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	stressed focus	contrast
14. It was all Oxford. [4 sentences] "I was a modest, good-humoured boy," said Max Beerholm. <u>“It was Oxford that made me insufferable.”</u> (161)	Be Near Me	Q-Scale	dependent	proper name	stressed focus	identification

sentence – it-clefts	source	underlying construction	context-(in)dependence of the subject	realization form of the subject	type according to Prince	textual role
15. The spirit of Oxford, at least among the people I took up with in those lazy, leather-jacketed days before change became the only anthem, was slightly in thrall to the dead boys of the Great War. <u>It was those benighted undergraduates – wraiths, every one, and clichés, passing through the quadrangles with their gowns and golden hair – who fed one’s notion of what it meant to be a son of Oxford and a servant of the world.</u> (163)	Be Near Me	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - heterogenous	information-presupposition	identification
16. Nashe took what you might call the anti-Carlyle view of history: <u>it wasn’t the bigwigs that concerned him so much as the ones wearing aprons stained with blood and sweat.</u> (170)	Be Near Me	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	stressed focus	contrast
17. "Just give the Voice what she needs," he said. [2 sentences] <u>It was my friend Edward,</u> when I told him about Conor’s mother in advance of meeting her, <u>who had christened her the Voice</u> – short for the Voice of Doom – and even Conor took it up. (176)	Be Near Me	Q-Scale	independent	NP - heterogenous	stressed focus	identification
18. My parents didn't equip me for such a life: they made me happy, made me want to marry a happy and moral man. That's all. <u>It was you who added the spice.</u> (219)	Be Near Me	Q-Scale	dependent	personal pronoun	stressed focus	contrast
19. He took trouble with you that few other individuals would have taken, and you rewarded him by drawing him into circumstances you knew would be difficult for him. Is that not right?" "Naw," she said. <u>"It was him that wanted to go to places.</u> (249)	Be Near Me	Q-Scale	dependent	personal pronoun	stressed focus	contrast
20. <u>It was him that rang us or texted us</u> and wanted us to go out” (249)	Be Near Me	Q-Scale	dependent	personal pronoun	stressed focus	contrast

sentence – it-clefts	source	underlying construction	context-(in)dependence of the subject	realization form of the subject	type according to Prince	textual role
21. "I'm not particularly interested in your character, sir. Based on my experience of it in this court, it is not to my mind an especially admirable one. <u>But it is not your vanity which is on trial.</u> (256)	Be Near Me	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	stressed focus	contrast
22. <u>It was Oneeta Sengupta who put her finger on the trouble.</u> (23)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	Q-Scale	dependent	proper name	information-presupposition	identification
23. "My holdall!" yelled a mud-woman. "Crazy buffalo! Looney tune! Desist from your speeding, or my possessions will be thrown to Kingdom Come!" " <u>It is we ourselves who will be thrown, madam,</u> " a mud-man answered sharply. (36)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	Q-Scale	dependent	personal pronoun + reflexive pronoun	stressed focus	contrast
24. The King attempted to speak, but words failed him, and shaking his head unhappily he stepped back. <u>It was Prince Bolo who burst into impetuous speech.</u> (90)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	Q-Scale	dependent	proper name	stressed focus	contrast
25. "What thing?" Bolo shouted, leaping about. [7 sentences] A hush fell over the Throne Room. <u>And of course it was Bolo who spoke first.</u> (105)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	Q-Scale	dependent	proper name	stressed focus	selection
26. <u>It was Mali, the Floating Gardener,</u> striding along beside him, walking on the water, <u>who replied in flowery voice through fleshy lilac lips.</u> (120)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	Q-Scale	dependent	proper name + apposition	information-presupposition	identification

sentence – it-clefts	source	underlying construction	context-(in)dependence of the subject	realization form of the subject	type according to Prince	textual role
27. What's more: in the Land of Chup, a Shadow very often has a stronger personality than the Person, or Self, or Substance to whom or to which it is joined! So often the Shadow leads, and <u>it is the Person of Self or Substance that follows</u> . (132)	Haroun and the Sea of Stories	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	stressed focus	contrast
28. But equally, historians need to treat a participant's own explanation of events with certain scepticism. <u>It is often the statement made with an eye to the future that is the most suspect</u> . (18)	The Sense of an Ending	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	stressed focus	identification
29. <u>Who was it said that memory is what we thought we'd forgotten?</u> (63)	The Sense of an Ending	Q-Scale	independent	interrogative pronoun	information-presupposition	marking given information
30. <u>Who was it said that the longer we live, the less we understand?</u> (131)	The Sense of an Ending	Q-Scale	independent	interrogative pronoun	information-presupposition	marking given information
31. On my way out I might stop by the terraria to at some shiny frogs glazed bright, bright green, or yellow and deep blue, or brown and pale green. <u>Or it might be birds that caught my attention</u> : pink flamingoes or black swans or one-wattled cassowaries, or something smaller, silver diamond doves, Cape glossy starlings, peach-faced lovebirds, Nanday conures, orange-fronted parakeets. (15)	Life of Pi	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	stressed focus	selection
32. God never came. <u>It wasn't God who saved me</u> – it was medicine. (27)	Life of Pi	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	stressed focus	contrast
33. It was my first clue that atheists are my brothers and sisters of a different faith, and every word they speak speaks of faith. [2 sentences] <u>It is not atheists who get struck in my craw</u> , but agnostics. (28)	Life of Pi	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	stressed focus	contrast

sentence – it-clefts	source	underlying construction	context-(in)dependence of the subject	realization form of the subject	type according to Prince	textual role
34. His tone of voice set off a small alarm bell in my head. [16 sentences] <u>It was no longer a small alarm bell that was ringing in my head</u> – they were big bells now, like the ones we heard from Sacred Heart of Jesus Church, not far from the zoo. (31)	Life of Pi	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	stressed focus	contrast
35. It's nothing I say (I say very little). <u>It's his own story that does it.</u> (42)	Life of Pi	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	stressed focus	contrast
36. It is interesting to note that the lion that is the most amenable to the circus trainer's tricks is the one with the lowest social standing in the pride, the omega animal. [3 sentences] <u>It is this compliant animal, to the public no different from the others in size and apparent ferocity, that will be the star of the show,</u> while the trainer leaves the beta and gamma lions, more cantankerous subordinates, sitting on their colourful barrels on the edge of the ring. (44)	Life of Pi	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - heterogenous	stressed focus	identification
37. I became loyal to these sense impressions even before I knew what they meant or what they were for. <u>It is my heart that commands me so.</u> (46)	Life of Pi	Q-Scale	independent	NP - heterogenous	stressed focus	identification
38. And right there before me, in the midst of his workplace, he prayed. It was incongruous, but <u>it was I who felt out of place.</u> (57)	Life of Pi	Q-Scale	dependent	personal pronoun	stressed focus	contrast
39. Spiritual worry was alien to him; <u>it was financial worry that rocked his being.</u> (62)	Life of Pi	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - heterogenous	stressed focus	contrast
40. "Is this your father?" I ask. [2 sentences] " <u>It's my father who took the picture.</u> " (83)	Life of Pi	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	stressed focus	identification
41. A gun would be found to kill the hyena and put the zebra out of its misery. [8 sentences] Orange Juice had seemed practically cataleptic. (1 sentence) <u>It was the hyena that worried me.</u> (111)	Life of Pi	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	stressed focus	selection

sentence – it-clefts	source	underlying construction	context-(in)dependence of the subject	realization form of the subject	type according to Prince	textual role
42. It's an open question as to what hyenas <i>won't</i> eat. [2 sentences] <u>It is not their gastric juices that limit hyenas</u> , but the power of their jaws, which is formidable. (115)	Life of Pi	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	stressed focus	contrast
43. Yet it was plainly in its element and <u>it was I who was the odd one out</u> . (120)	Life of Pi	Q-Scale	dependent	personal pronoun	stressed focus	contrast
44. <u>It was Richard Parker who calmed me down</u> . (157)	Life of Pi	Q-Scale	dependent	proper name	information-presupposition	topic launching
45. Suddenly I was hit hard across the face. [17 sentences] It was about fifteen inches long and it had wings. A flying fish. [1 sentence] <u>It was this flying fish that had struck me across the face, not Richard Parker</u> . (174)	Life of Pi	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	stressed focus	contrast
46. The biscuits and the fishing gear assured us of the solid part of our diet. <u>It was the liquid part that was the rub</u> . (181)	Life of Pi	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - heterogenous	stressed focus	contrast
47. I fished with a variety of hooks at a variety of depths for a variety of fish, from deep-sea fishing with large hooks and many sinkers to surface fishing with smaller hooks and only one or two sinkers. [2 sentences] <u>It was the gaffs that finally proved to be my most valuable fishing equipment</u> . (188)	Life of Pi	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	information-presupposition	selection
48. My sleep pattern changed. Though I rested all the time, I rarely slept longer than an hour or so at a stretch, even at night. <u>It was not the ceaseless motion of the sea that disturbed me, nor the wind</u> ; you get used to those the way you get used to lumps in a mattress. (193)	Life of Pi	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - heterogenous	stressed focus	contrast



sentence – it-clefts	source	underlying construction	context-(in)dependence of the subject	realization form of the subject	type according to Prince	textual role
49. It was not the ceaseless motion of the sea that disturbed me, nor the wind; you get used to those the way you get used to lumps in a mattress. <u>It was apprehension and anxiety that roused me.</u> (193)	Life of Pi	problematic	independent	NP - homogenous	stressed focus	contrast
50. Butchering a turtle was hard work. My first one was a small hawksbill. <u>It was its blood that tempted me,</u> the “good, nutritious, salt-free drink” promised by the survival manual. (194)	Life of Pi	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - heterogenous	stressed focus	selection
51. I thought I would run out of paper. <u>It was pens that ran out.</u> (233)	Life of Pi	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	stressed focus	contrast
52. I wasn’t hearing voices. I hadn’t gone mad. <u>It was Richard Parker who was speaking to me!</u> (239)	Life of Pi	Q-Scale	dependent	proper name	stressed focus	identification
53. “Why do you have an accent?” “I don’t. <u>It is you who has an accent.</u> ” (241)	Life of Pi	Q-Scale	dependent	personal pronoun	stressed focus	contrast
54. "Ultimately, a foot is the only good judge of land," pursued the manual. [19 sentences] Still I did not believe. Finally, <u>it was my nose that was the judge of land.</u> (252)	Life of Pi	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - heterogenous	stressed focus	contrast
55. <u>But it was the meerkats that impressed themselves most indelibly on my mind.</u> I saw in one look what I would conservatively estimate to be hundreds of thousands of meerkats. (258)	Life of Pi	Q-Scale	independent	NP - homogenous	stressed focus	topic launching
56. That is what I beheld in one glance, hundreds of thousands of meerkats - more, a million - turning to me and standing at attention, as if saying, "Yes, sir?" Mind you, a standing meerkat reaches up eighteen inches at most, so <u>it was not the height of these ceatures that was so breathtaking as their unlimited multitude.</u> (259)	Life of Pi	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	stressed focus	contrast

sentence – it-clefts	source	underlying construction	context-(in)dependence of the subject	realization form of the subject	type according to Prince	textual role
57. Some meerkittens had discovered the warmer parts of my body. I had a tight, sweaty collar of them around my neck – <u>and it must have been their mother who had settled herself so contentedly on the side of my head</u> – while others had wedged themselves in my groin area. (268)	Life of Pi	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - heterogenous	stressed focus	identification
58. I can live with the name-calling. <u>It's the men with the heavy weaponry who worry me.</u> (14)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	problematic	independent	NP - homogenous	stressed focus	contrast
59. “Because you carry yourself like a little rajah,” she’d told me, fondly, when I was only nine and had braces on my teeth, “so <u>it’s only your friends who know you’re just some no-account jerk.</u> ” (18)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - heterogenous	information-presupposition	contrast
60. That was Rai: a boy princeling. But childhood ends, and in adult life <u>it was Ormus Cama who became Vina’s Prince Charming, not I.</u> (18)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	proper name	stressed focus	contrast
61. They were sick, and <u>it was Virus Cama, with his dignified silence, who was well.</u> (38)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	proper name	stressed focus	contrast

sentence – it-clefts	source	underlying construction	context-(in)dependence of the subject	realization form of the subject	type according to Prince	textual role
62. While everyone’s attention was focused on the accident of Virus, on Cyrus’s murderous streak, on the mystical absentness of Lady Spenta and the decay of Sir Darius, <u>it was Ameer who kept her eye on the ball</u> . (53)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	proper name	stressed focus	selection
63. “ <u>It is not Cyrus or Virus who is that boy’s twin</u> ,” she pointed out. (53)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	proper name	stressed focus	contrast
64. Apollo grabbed the Bunder, <u>but it was Dionysus who really made his mark</u> . (61)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	problematic	independent	proper name	stressed focus	contrast
65. Painstakingly, she worked from the top down, in the manner of the master builders of the great Kailash temple at Ellora, that overwhelming monolith hewn by successive generations out of the living rock. And yes, <u>it was a building that appeared</u> , but one entirely free of devotional content. (63)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Pr-Scale	independent	NP - homogenous	stressed focus	contrast
66. Later, after midnight, <u>it was Ameer who first heard the noises outside</u> , the bumping and thumping, as if an animal were loose on the front verandah, and then an exhausted, tearful panting. (83-84)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	proper name	information-presupposition	selection

sentence – it-clefts	source	underlying construction	context-(in)dependence of the subject	realization form of the subject	type according to Prince	textual role
67. Are you the one? they seem to ask. <u>Is it you who will save us from this appalling place</u> , this anteroom, this limbo, and give us the key to the silver screen? (98)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	personal pronoun	information-presupposition	identification
68. In cosmopolitan Bombay <u>it was she who was provincial</u> ; if she praised American sophistication at our expense, it was because sophistication was a quality she utterly lacked. (111)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	personal pronoun	stressed focus	selection
69. After a lifetime of poverty, <u>it was India, in the overblown form of Pilo Doodhwala</u> , that had offered her a first taste of affluence; therefore, by inversion, she filled her dialogue with ersatz rich-American contempt for the impoverishment of the Orient. (111)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	proper name + apposition	stressed focus	identification
70. Yet <u>it is Persis who, in many ways, was the true heroine of the story of their love</u> . (144)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	proper name	information-presupposition	identification
71. <u>It is the opposite that's true</u> . (146)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	stressed focus	contrast

sentence – it-clefts	source	underlying construction	context-(in)dependence of the subject	realization form of the subject	type according to Prince	textual role
72. Lady Spenta had taken the precaution of asking Dolly Kalamanja to send her husband Patangbaz to the airport, and <u>it was Pat's jolly round face that greeted Sir Darius in the crude arrivals shed</u> [...]. (152)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - heterogenous	information-presupposition	identification
73. She was at the forefront of the builders' lobby that was working flat out to scupper the "second city" project for a New Bombay across the harbour in favour of more immediately lucrative land reclamation schemes at Nariman Point and - yes - the Cuffe Parade as well. <u>It was the proposed Cuffe Parade redevelopment that horrified Vivvy Merchant.</u> (155)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	information-presupposition	selection
74. And Ormus had the vision, but Vina had the voice, and <u>it was the voice that did it</u> , it's always the voice; the beat catches your attention and the melody makes you remember but it's the voice against which you're defenceless, the unholy cantor, the profane muezzin, the siren call that knows its way directly to the rhythm center, the soul. (157)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	stressed focus	selection
75. I think, now, that <u>it was Vina's singing that was holding us together in those days</u> . She was our rock, not the other way round. While V.V. Merchant plunged into debt, and also, silently, investigated his wife, assembling a thick dossier on her illegal manipulation of the city's decision makers - while, in short, a time bomb was ticking beneath our lives - Vina sang to us, reminding us of love. (157)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	information-presupposition	topic launching
76. Morning came, rapid and intolerant, the way morning is in the tropics. As usual <u>it was the city that woke Spenta with its shrugging, careless noise of shouts and engines and bicycle bells.</u> (195)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	information-presupposition	identification

sentence – it-clefts	source	underlying construction	context-(in)dependence of the subject	realization form of the subject	type according to Prince	textual role
77. But in spite of all this noise, <u>it was a silence that dragged Spenta upright</u> , a silence where there should have been sound. (195)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	problematic	dependent	NP - homogenous	stressed focus	contrast
78. Great Nicéphore, I doff my beret. If Daguerre – like the Titan Epimetheus – was the one who opened this Pandoran box, unleashing the ceaseless click and snap, the interminable flash and sprocket of photography, still <u>it was you, great Anarch!, who stole the gods’ gift of permanent vision</u> , of the transformation of sight into memory, of the actual into the eternal – that is, the gift of immortality – and bestowed it upon mankind. (210)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	personal pronoun + apposition	stressed focus	selection
79. I stood beside the shrouded bodies of Darius’s desk and chair and peered at the shelves of naked, staring books. <u>It was the books that at first glance seemed dead</u> , like withered leaves. The furniture, beneath the winter of the white dust sheets, looked as if it were simply waiting for the return of spring. (212)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	information-presupposition	selection
80. After I moved into the apartment, however, <u>it was the books that came to life and spoke to me</u> . (212)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	stressed focus	contrast
81. “ <u>It was Balzac</u> ,” Hulot said, “ <u>who told Nadar that photographs stripped away the subject’s personality</u> .” (221)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	independent	proper name	information-presupposition	marking given information

sentence – it-clefts	source	underlying construction	context-(in)dependence of the subject	realization form of the subject	type according to Prince	textual role
82. Here's an irony worth a shake of the head or a rueful grin: that the severance of my connection with the country of my birth should come to pass at the point of my deepest intimacy with it, my broadest knowledge, my most genuine feelings of belonging. [2 sentences] [...]I was seeing my way, through the camera lens, of being a "proper" Indian. Yet <u>it was the thing I most rejoiced in, my photographer's craft, that ensured my banishment.</u> (229)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - heterogenous	stressed focus	identification
83. [...] I want to be in America, America where everyone's like me, because everyone comes from somewhere else. [5 sentences] <u>But it's this boy from Bombay who will complete the American story,</u> who will take the music and throw it up in the air and the way it falls will inspire a generation, two generations, three. (252)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	information-presupposition	identification
84. You're in even more of a hurry than I'd hoped, the older man congratulates the younger. And here I'm thinking <u>it's the East that's timeless, and us transatlantic rats who can't stop racing to Hell and back again.</u> (260)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	stressed focus	contrast
85. No, Ormus answers. Actually <u>it's the West that's exotic, fabulous, unreal.</u> (260)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	stressed focus	contrast

sentence – it-clefts	source	underlying construction	context-(in)dependence of the subject	realization form of the subject	type according to Prince	textual role
86. Ballot boxes have been stuffed full of votes for President Kennedy, war is always good for sitting presidents, his numbers are up from the tight squeeze against Nixon in 1960, he's got four more years of power and priapism at Pennsylvania Avenue, and now <u>it's the voters, the young generation of soldier electors out there in jungled, swamped, incomprehensible Indochina, who are being stuffed into boxes in shocking quantities and being sent home to various addresses less exalted than JFK's.</u> (265)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - heterogenous	stressed focus	contrast
87. He wants to say – his eyes are gleaming now, and the energy pours from him with redoubled, frightening force – that the war has turned him on to its consequent music, because in this dark time <u>it's the rock music that represents the country's most profound artistic engagement with the death of its children,</u> not just the music of peace and psychotropic drugs but the music of rage and horror and despair. (265)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - heterogenous	information-presupposition	identification
88. She has given him what she has been able to give, though she could never love him. [1 sentence] In a way <u>it is this lack of emotional enthusiasm, this absence of unconditional love, that has prepared him for his great future,</u> has gotten him on to the runway, so to speak, like a jet aircraft, ready to fly. (270)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	information-presupposition	identification
89. His horror [...] is increased by the knowledge of his own involuntary gift of visions, the holes in the real that manifest themselves to show him another reality, which he resists, though it beckons him to enter; for entry would feel - he knows this - very like insanity. <u>Can it be this visionary madness, the thing he most fears within himself, that's most in tune with his new world?</u> (288)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - heterogenous	stressed focus	identification



sentence – it-clefts	source	underlying construction	context-(in)dependence of the subject	realization form of the subject	type according to Prince	textual role
90. [...] so as it turns out it was not required for you to seek me out, which as I remember I advised you on no account to do. As things transpire which I don't mind saying it's a funny old world, and so Mr. Cama with your permission <u>it is I who have come to you</u> . (305)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	personal pronoun	stressed focus	contrast
91. The casualties are taken to a nearby cottage hospital. Ormus's American manager, a "hobbling, Svengali-like figure," Mr. Mull Standish, arrives soon afterwards, together with the record company boss Yul Singh, expensively accoutred in a navy-blue suit, Ray Charles shades and black leather gloves, and accompanied, Piloo Doodhwala fashion, by an entourage of aides and bodyguards. Standish, utterly demolished by the fate of his sons, sobs helplessly by their hospital beds; <u>it's reportedly Yul Singh's team of Sikhs who spirit the singer away through a back exit</u> , in spite of his serious wounds and fractures, and remove him to a secret location where he will be given private care. (308)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - heterogenous	information-presupposition	identification
92. Her letter to Ormus, maudlin and full of apologies, addressed to him in care of the pirate station, arrives in Standish's hand on the day of the singer's ill-fated car journey. So <u>it is Standish whose intervention returns Ormus to the bosom of his family</u> . (311)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	proper name	information-presupposition	identification
93. As the plane banks and drops he recalls my father Vivvy Merchant's love of Queen Catherine of Braganza, through whom Bombay and New York are forever yoked together. But this recollection fades almost at once: because from the start <u>it was the cloudscrapers of the isle of the Manhattoes that pricked Ormus's heart</u> , he shared my mother's dream of conquering the sky, and never itched for the thronged streets of Queens, its bazaars bustling with the polyglot traffic of the world. (354-355)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - heterogenous	information-presupposition	identification

sentence – it-clefts	source	underlying construction	context-(in)dependence of the subject	realization form of the subject	type according to Prince	textual role
94. He meets with Standish and simply says, No deal. Then he digs in for a war of attrition, calculating that he can starve Vina and Ormus out. <u>It's their money that's tied up, after all.</u> (403)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	information-presupposition	identification
95. In the front lobby, carved into a stone wall, was a Latin motto, Venus significat humanitatem. <u>It is love that is the sign of our humanity.</u> (414)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	independent	NP - homogenous	information-presupposition	marking given information
96. A man is for power and a woman is for pain. I'll say it again. Orpheus lives, Eurydice dies, right? Yeah, but you're Orpheus too, I start to tell her. <u>It's your voice that's making the enchanted stones of the city rise deliriously into the blue, that causes the city's banks of electrical images to dance.</u> (460)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - heterogenous	information-presupposition	identification
97. All over the world, when the news of her death breaks, people pour into the streets, whatever their local hour, pushed out of their homes by a force they can't yet name. <u>It's not the news of the earthquake that galvanizes them, not the myriad Mexican dead they're mourning,</u> it's just her. (480)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	stressed focus	contrast
98. The old religions' legacy of living stories - the Ash Yggdrasil, the Cow Audumla, Ouranos-Varuna, Dionysius's Indian jaunt, the vain Olympians, the fabulous monsters, the legion of ruined, sacrificed women, the metamorphoses - continues to hold my attention; whereas Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Marxism, the Market, utterly fail to enthrall. These are faiths for the front pages, for CNN, not for me. [1 sentence] <u>It's Prometheus and the Nibelungs, Indra and Cadmus, who bring me my kind of news.</u> (503)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	proper name	stressed focus	contrast

sentence – it-clefts	source	underlying construction	context-(in)dependence of the subject	realization form of the subject	type according to Prince	textual role
99. [...] because the underworld was in no way intrinsically superior to our own. In the end, <u>it was that version which failed</u> . Ours succeeded - or let's just say survived. (516)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	NP - homogenous	stressed focus	identification
100. I thought this whole thing was your idea anyhow. <u>It was even you who said we shouldn't tell him about us</u> . (540)	The Ground Beneath Her Feet	Q-Scale	dependent	personal pronoun + focalizer	stressed focus	contrast